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ABSTRACT

Summarizing the International Council for Educational Development's (ICED) second report on the study of nonformal education for rural youth and children, this draft of the second report outlines the substance of each chapter and the main findings, conclusions, and recommendations. This summary does not include the detailed evidence, illustrations, references, etc. which will be included in the final draft. The initial chapter presents an overview of the problems confronting the rurally deprived youth and children of the world and outlines strategies for rural education. The next three chapters examine possible alternative approaches to particular categories of learning needs (basic general education; occupational education, and civic education). The analysis then turns to a series of interrelated issues and problems that cut across all kinds of nonformal programs and converge at the vortex of planning and evaluation. Chapter V views these issues and the process of planning and evaluation from the vantage point of a manager of a single educational program. Chapter VI broadens the perspective and views these and other issues in the context of a strategy aimed at fusing various educational programs and related development activities into a more cohesive and effective whole-area by area and nationwide. Chapter VI also envisages as a guiding concept the progressive emergence of a comprehensive, highly diversified, and increasingly unified "rural learning system" that can serve people of all ages and development objectives of many kinds. (Authors/JC)

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BUILDING NEW EDUCATIONAL STRATEGIES TO SERVE RURAL CHILDREN AND YOUTH *

Draft of Second Report on a
Research Study for UNICEF
prepared by the
International Council for Educational Development
by
Philip Coombs and Manzoor Ahmed

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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BUILDING NEW EDUCATIONAL STRATEGIES
To Serve Rural Children and Youth

Draft of Second Report on a
Research Study
for
UNICEF

March 1974

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CONTENTS

	Page
EXPLANATORY NOTE	1
Chapter	
1. THE SEARCH FOR NEW STRATEGIES	
Learning Needs in a Changing Rural Scene	1-2
The Rural Education Gap	1-8
Changing Perspectives on Rural Development and Education's Role	1-18
Changing Perspectives of Education	1-19
2. APPROACHES TO BASIC GENERAL EDUCATION	
Deterrents to General Education in Rural Areas	2-2
Literacy Programmes	2-5
School Equivalency Programmes	2-10
Radical Approaches	2-13
Untapped Potentials	2-19
Conclusions and Recommendations	2-21
3. APPROACHES TO EDUCATION FOR EARNING A LIVING	
Employment Prospects for Rural Young People	3-2
Indigenous Skill Training Systems	3-6
Modern Institutionalized Vocational Training	3-7
Training Future Farmers	3-10
Youth Corps and Service Programmes	3-15
More Integrated and Locally Tailored Approaches	3-17
Conclusions and Recommendations	3-20
4. EDUCATION TO IMPROVE FAMILY AND COMMUNITY LIFE	
Requisites for Improving the Quality of Rural Life	4-1
Some Governing Principles	4-4
An Assessment of Existing Programmes	4-6
Accomplishments and Handicaps	4-13
Special Potentialities	4-19
New Hope for Low Hope Areas	4-22
Conclusions and Recommendations	4-29

Contents (Continued)

Chapter		Page
5.	PLANNING AND MANAGING INDIVIDUAL PROGRAMMES	
	New Frontiers for Educational Planning	5-2
	The Critical Components of Learning Systems	5-3
	Five Basic Planning Guides	5-5
	A Critique of Past Programme Planning	5-7
	The Crucial Choice of Educational Technologies	5-13
	Potentialities and Limitations of the Mass Media	5-17
	The Content or "Software" Problem	5-21
	Personnel Needs	5-26
	The Task of Shaping the Organization to Fit the Purpose	5-32
	The Need to Hold Down Costs and Push Up Resources	5-40
	Purposes and Techniques of Evaluation	5-42
	Conclusions and Recommendations	5-50
6.	BUILDING NEW RURAL EDUCATIONAL STRATEGIES	
	The Realities of Strategy Building	6-2
	A Compelling Vision of Tomorrow	6-6
	Progress Toward Integration	6-10
	Steps Toward Decentralization	6-17
	Stronger Backstopping for Local Educational Programmes	6-22
	Essential Measures for Staff Development	6-27
	Fresh Organizational Approaches	6-32
	Developing Unifying Concepts and Teamwork	6-33
	The Mobilization of Additional Resources	6-37
	More Attention to the Neediest	6-44
	Conclusions and Recommendations	6-47
LISTS AND CHARTS		
	Guide to Main ICED Nonformal Programme Studies (Precedes Chapter 1)	
Figure 5.1	A Nonformal Learning System in Action	5-3a
Figure 5.2	Interaction Between a Learning System and its Social-Economic Context	5-3b
Figure 5.3	Functional Flow Chart of a Specific Knowledge Delivery System	5-35a
Chart 6.1	Existing Village-Level Building Blocks for a Stronger Future Rural Learning System	6-9a

Contents (continued)

APPENDICES

A Classification of Programmes and Projects Reviewed by ICED (Appended to Chapter 1, p. 1-25)

B ICED Board of Trustees

C ICED Project Staff and Country Case Study Contributors

EXPLANATORY NOTE

ICED's Second Report, which will complete the study of nonformal education for rural children and youth, is in the process of preparation and should be ready for publication by Fall 1974.

The attached summary of the Second Report -- tentatively titled Building New Education Strategies: To Serve Rural Children and Youth -- outlines the substance of each chapter and the main findings, conclusions, and recommendations. The authors look forward to obtaining comments and suggestions on this document from members of UNICEF's Executive Board, from the United Nations and other organizations, and from individuals who cooperated in the study. We are confident that these comments, as with the First Report, will help greatly to improve the final version.

The two reports, though closely connected, are separate and distinct. The second picks up where the first leaves off, with only a minimum of overlap.

Follow-up on the First Report

The First Report,[1] it will be recalled, (1) explained the purpose, methods, and limitations of the study; (2) presented some fundamental concepts for viewing education in the context of rural development, including the delineation of three basic

[1] Originally issued as document E/ICEF/L.1284 and entitled, Non-Formal Education for Rural Development: Strengthening Learning Opportunities for Children and Youth, 8 February 1973.

modes of education (informal, formal, and nonformal) and six "minimum essential learning needs" of rural children and youth; (3) identified several major tasks of nonformal education in poorer rural societies, including the task of assisting in the unfinished business of formal schools; (4) gave a general overview of the present patterns and status of rural education, including an introductory sketch of ICED's country case studies; (5) identified and commented briefly on a number of critical issues involved in planning and operating nonformal education programmes; and (6) made a few preliminary observations and recommendations on steps that developing countries and external assistance agencies might take in the near future in this field.

A revised version of the First Report -- New Paths to Learning: For Rural Children and Youth -- was published in English in late 1973, jointly financed by ICED and UNICEF. (Efforts are currently being made to secure publication in other languages.) UNESCO, FAO, and ILO are cooperating in its dissemination. Nearly 10,000 copies have been widely distributed in developing countries and among external assistance agencies, universities, research and teacher training institutions, and voluntary organizations. The book is receiving wide and favorable attention in various periodicals, professional journals, and organizational bulletins. For example, two chapters were condensed into the lead article in the Autumn 1973 issue of UNESCO's Prospects (in English, French, and Spanish).

New Paths to Learning is already being used as a discussion document for various national, regional, and international meetings and as a text in university courses and various training programmes -- in both developing and industrialized countries. It is expected to have continuing utility as a primer in the field of nonformal education even after the Second Report is published.

Features of the Second Report

The Second Report, drawing extensively on the now completed case studies and additional sources, delves into the critical issues previously identified; presents a more penetrating critique of existing rural educational provisions, giving attention especially to rural primary schools and their relationship to nonformal education; and examines (with concrete illustrations) a variety of alternative approaches to meeting the minimum essential learning needs of the younger generation (specifically with regard to basic general education, occupational education, and education for the improvement of family and community life). The Second Report provides evidence and conclusions on the costs of nonformal education and potential resources that can be mobilized; offers guidance on evaluating such programmes, and gives special attention to teacher supply, educational technologies, and possible means of rectifying the ubiquitous shortage of good educational "software." Finally, it makes numerous practical suggestions and recommendations for

actions that might be taken in this field by developing countries and external assistance agencies, and provides guidelines for building longer-range educational strategies in support of integrated rural development.

To save both time and space, the attached summary of the Second Report does not include much of the detailed evidence, illustrations, references, and analytical discussion that undergird the conclusions and recommendations and that will, of course, be included in the final version.*

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We welcome this opportunity to express our profound gratitude to the various individuals and organizations -- too numerous to name here individually -- who contributed so importantly and unsparingly to this study. Our special thanks go to the authorities, researchers, programme operators, and all others in developing countries who cooperated in the preparation of case studies -- notably in Brazil, Colombia, Indonesia, Jamaica, Kenya, Republic of Korea, Mali, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Upper Volta. We are especially grateful also to staff members of UNESCO, FAO, and ILO, and not least of all to the officers and staff of UNICEF who, throughout, contributed significant ideas and invaluable guidance and practical help while steadfastly respecting ICED's intellectual autonomy.

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*Condensed summaries of several case studies (in English) will be available on request at the 1974 UNICEF Executive Board session as informal documents. A guide to the main nonformal programmes studied by ICED is appended to this chapter.

The authors and ICED, of course, take full responsibility for the opinions, conclusions, and recommendations presented in both Reports, which do not necessarily coincide with the official views and positions of UNICEF or any other agency.

Guide to Main ICED Nonformal Program Studies

I. Country Case Studies	Main Nonformal Programmes	Others Reviewed
Brazil (Pernambuco)	Mobral, Pipmo, 4-S	Brazilian Legion (LBA), Community Schools (CNEC), Operation Minerva, Operation COATE
Jamaica	Youth Camps and Centres, and new Youth Community Training Centres	School Equivalency and Evening Continuation Programme, Literacy Programme, Industrial Training Centres, 4-H Clubs, Jamaican Youth Council, National Volunteers Organization
Mali	Centres d'Animation Rurale Centres a Orientations Pratique Functional Literacy Programme	Mouvement Pionniers, Mouvement des Femmes
Kenya	Village Polytechnics, National Youth Service, Coordinatory Organizations	Literacy and School Equivalency Program 4-K Clubs, Youth Clubs and Centres
Sri Lanka	Sarvodaya Shramadana, Diyagala Boys Town, Youth Agricultural Programme	Mahila Samiti (Women's Movement) National Youth Service Council
II. Special Programmes		
Thailand	Mobile Trade Training Schools School Equivalency Programme Literacy and Family Life Programme	
Upper Volta	Rural Education Centres	
Indonesia	Jombang educational system	
Cuba	Schools-to-the-Countryside Schools-in-the-Countryside	
Colombia[1]	ACPO	
Korea[1]	4-H Clubs	
China*	Rural Learning Systems	

[1]Completed for ICED/IBRD report.

*Background Report prepared for ICED/IBRD report.

CHAPTER 1

THE SEARCH FOR NEW STRATEGIES

1. This initial chapter sets the stage for the balance of the report. First, it examines the diverse and changing social and economic circumstances in which children in the poorer rural areas of the developing world are growing up, and how these circumstances determine their life prospects and career options and hence their essential learning needs. Second, it explores the dimensions of the gap that exists -- and that may grow even wider -- between these learning needs and the educational provisions for meeting them. And third, it notes the important changes of perspective now taking place regarding the goals and nature of rural development and the aims and role of education in this whole complex process. Only by viewing nonformal education programmes in this larger and dynamic context can one talk sense about them. These considerations lead us to certain themes that will echo throughout the report and that carry profound implications for future educational strategies in rural areas.

2. Three brief caveats are in order at the outset. First, this report's focus is on the learning needs of the many millions of seriously deprived children and youth growing up in the poorest rural areas of the world. Its conclusions and recommendations,

therefore, are framed with this group in mind and may not apply in every respect to children and youth growing up in nonrural environments. Much of what is said, however, does apply to migrant rural children and youth locked in the ghettos of major urban centers, for they are in fact part of the "rural problem."

3. The second caveat is that this report looks at only some parts of the total spectrum of nonformal education -- the parts that apply especially to the young clientele described above. Other aspects of nonformal education and other types of programmes applying more to rural adults are examined in ICED's report to the World Bank: Attacking Rural Poverty: How Nonformal Education Can Help.[1]

4. Finally, it should be remembered that the terrain explored by this report has not been systematically examined before. Hence its conclusions are necessarily incomplete and often tentative. Similarly, its recommendations are but the first rough charting of a new map designed to help developing countries and external assistance agencies to move in new directions. The map will be filled out and improved as other researchers push back the frontiers, as some are already beginning to do.

Learning Needs in a Changing Rural Scene

5. The prime object and justification of any formal education system or nonformal educational programme is to improve the lives

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[1] By Philip H. Coombs, with Manzoor Ahmed; published for the World Bank by the Johns Hopkins University Press, April 1974.

and prospects of people by helping to meet their important learning needs that cannot be adequately met informally through their daily experience and particular socioeconomic environment. It follows, then, that the first step in designing or evaluating any educational system, programme, or project is to identify the characteristics and learning needs of the intended clients. This in turn calls for examining their socioeconomic environment and how it may change, for this environment is generally a major factor in shaping their life prospects and options, and therefore in determining the kinds of knowledge, insights, and skills they most need to make the best of their possibilities.

6. Most of the rural boys and girls we are concerned with here, it must be said, have only modest prospects. A small minority of them will escape their rural environment and enter one that offers better options. But the great majority, for reasons cited below, will live out their lives in the countryside, mostly engaged in agriculture or closely related activities, and many will have to endure conditions of extreme poverty. The key questions are: What kinds of education can most brighten the lives and circumscribed prospects of this great majority, and how can such learning best be provided to them?

7. There are roughly two billion people living in the developing world today, of which an estimated 1.4 billion, or 70 percent, live in rural areas (more than 90 percent in some of the poorest countries

such as Mali and Upper Volta), subsisting mainly from agriculture (defined to include forestry, fishing, and animal husbandry as well as crop-growing). Half or more of these rural dwellers are infants, children, or adolescents below 21 years of age. President Robert McNamara of the World Bank in his 1973 annual address estimated that between one-third and one-half of these rural people, depending on the area, are living today under conditions not simply of relative poverty but of what he aptly termed absolute poverty -- essentially inhuman conditions.

8. Despite the heavy migration of rural people to the cities in search of a better life, demographers predict that, because of the high rate of population growth and the practical limitations on how many people the cities can physically absorb, more people (close to twice as many) will be living in the rural areas of developing countries 25 years from now as at present. Today's rural children will be rural adults then. In considering the education of these children it is thus vitally important to see them not only as children but as tomorrow's fathers and mothers, farmers and workers, community leaders and participants.

9. Social and economic conditions and potentials vary enormously among rural areas, even among those within the same country, and children of different families even in the same village could have very different life prospects and options. Clearly, therefore, rural children do not all have identical learning needs. Broadly speaking,

however, most or all would share the six general categories of "minimum essential learning needs" defined in New Paths to Learning. These are: (1) Positive attitudes toward co-operation with and help to one's family and fellow men, toward work and community and national development, and not least of all toward continued learning and toward the development of ethical values; (2) Functional literacy and numeracy; (3) A scientific outlook and an elementary understanding of the processes of nature; (4) Functional knowledge and skills for raising a family and operating a household; (5) Functional knowledge and skills for civic participation.

10. The socioeconomic conditions and the corresponding life prospects and options they afford to young people are not, of course, frozen in place for all time. Contrary to the popular image of poor rural areas as being "traditional and static," there are powerful dynamic forces and fundamental changes in process today even in the poorest and remotest villages. For better or worse, a variety of exogeneous influences -- largely unplanned and unintentional -- have been affecting rural societies at an accelerating rate over the past generation. Their former socioeconomic self-containment and equilibrium, which led them to be labelled static, have been upset, causing irreversible changes in their aspirations and expectations and in their value systems, power structures, institutions, technologies, and human relationships.

11. A case in point is the unanticipated chain reaction touched off by the introduction of fast-working modern health technologies. These technologies have both reduced infant mortality and increased the life span, yet they were unaccompanied by corresponding rapid innovations in food production technology or in family planning practices and technology. The resulting population boom has created shock waves that will reverberate throughout all facets of rural life for as far ahead as can be seen.

12. The progressive penetration of rural areas by the cash economy, with its new products and services and new ways of organizing economic life, and the similar penetration of the mass media -- especially radio -- bringing startling and provocative information of the very different world beyond -- these are performing a new alchemy on the once dormant and secluded villages. Villagers are also learning about the cities from relatives who have migrated and return for visits with tales of a way of life totally different.

13. Not least of the forces transforming rural life has been the "modern" primary school. Not only has it meant great changes for the young people who followed the new route it provided to the modern world of the city, but it has also raised havoc with the village people and institutions left behind.

14. Another powerful force for change in rural areas, even the most backward, is increasingly the planned development efforts of national governments, especially in newly independent countries

with a welfare-state orientation. Even though the goals of the governments' five-year plans may exceed their capacities, few rural areas in the developing world will remain immune to the influences of this kind of planning.

15. Who can say with any certainty at this point -- and by whose criteria should one attempt to judge -- whether all these changes will eventually work out on balance to be for good or ill? But two things can be said with assurance. First, all these changes in combination are creating and will continue to create new learning needs on the part of village children and adults. Many of these needs cannot be satisfied by the traditional indigenous educational institutions and processes -- at any rate, not unless they are "reprogrammed." Second, the various kinds of formal and nonformal education programmes being considered in this report are among the kinds of external interventions that are provoking fundamental changes and disruptions in rural life, for better or for worse.

16. These two considerations impose a twofold obligation on all those who would design, implant, and promote such educational programmes. On the one hand, they have the duty to respond as promptly, efficiently, and effectively as possible to these evolving and changing learning needs, particularly those of the new generation whose options are relatively more open. On the other hand, they must anticipate as clearly as possible in light of related

dynamic factors the likely repercussions -- both positive and negative -- of each contemplated intervention.

17. What this means, of course, and what makes the whole matter both so complicated and so challenging, is that the planning of education in such situations calls not merely for technical competence in engineering educational delivery systems but, even more,for a rare kind of sociological and political sensitivity and vision.

The Rural Education Gap

18. By any measure there is a large and widening gap -- both quantitative and qualitative -- between the evolving essential learning needs of rural boys and girls and the available educational means for meeting them. This gap varies, of course, from area to area and between individuals in the same area according to different circumstances.

Informal and Indigenous Education

19. Prior to the acceleration of modern forces of change, virtually all learning needs of rural children and youth were answered by day-to-day informal learning and by various indigenous educative institutions and processes. These would include, for example, the extended family; instruction by the local religious leader, herbalist, tribal doctor, midwife, chief hunter or cultivator; tribal

ceremonies, youth organizations, and puberty rites; local cultural festivals; apprenticeships to local artisans and craftsmen; visits to neighboring areas and the marketplace, discussions at the village well and so forth. Nyerere has described the process well:

> The fact that pre-colonial Africa did not have 'schools', except for short periods of initiation in some tribes, did not mean that the children were not educated. They learned by living and doing. In the homes and on the farms they were taught the skills of the society, and the behavior expected of its members. They learned the kind of grasses which were suitable for which purposes, the work which had to be done on the crops, or the care which had to be given to animals, by joining with their elders in this work. They learned the tribal history, and the tribe's relationship with other tribes and with the spirits, by listening to the stories of the elders... Education was thus 'informal' ... But this lack of formality did not mean that there was no education, nor did it affect its importance to the society.[2]

20. The primary strength of these educative mechanisms was their capacity to transmit a relatively settled body of knowledge, beliefs, customs, and technologies from one generation to the next and thus to sustain the coherence of the society and ensure its survival. This is still their great strength, though some have been undermined and weakened by modernizing influences. Their greatest limitation concerns the dissemination and inculcation of <u>new</u> ideas, skills, attitudes, insights, and technologies -- such as

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[2]From Julius K. Nyerere, <u>Education for Self-Reliance</u>, p. 2, quoted in Dragoljub Najman, <u>Education in Africa: What Next?</u> (Aubenas, France: Deux Mille, 1972) p. 12.

reading and writing and bookkeeping; modern scientific ways of thinking and observing; new concepts of regional and national ties and of political rights and duties; new practices relating to health, nutrition, and family planning; the application of new agricultural technologies; the use of agricultural credit and the marketing of goods for cash; the maintenance and repair of motor-driven pumps or vehicles and electronic equipment such as transistor radio sets or the telephone.

21. In some cases the "gatekeepers" of indigenous educational processes stoutly resist the intrusion of certain new ideas and practices. The local religious leader may oppose the modern school, for example; the large landholder may resist extension services designed to increase the productivity and independence of small cultivators; others high in the local power structure may oppose new self-governing institutions such as cooperatives or the training of young leaders who may bypass their authority.

22. In other cases, however, the problem is not resistance to change but lack of ready access to the sources of new knowledge, skills, and technologies and the inability to communicate and demonstrate them. A mother or father, the craftsman, or any other possessors of special knowledge in the village can teach young people only what they themselves know. Unless their own knowledge is expanding, they can only pass on traditional lore.

23. These limitations, however, should not be exaggerated. Many indigenous educational agents and institutions have softened their resistance to new ideas and skills as they came to appreciate their worth and have contributed to their dissemination. Buddhist Wat Schools and Moslem mosques, for example, have become important literacy training centers in some countries. Coptic religious leaders in Ethiopia are collaborating in educational projects. Indigenous training systems for artisans and craftsmen have demonstrated a remarkable versatility and adaptability in mastering skills relating to modern technologies, such as vehicle repair and maintenance.

24. Most outside planners and specialists in education, training, and communication who have come to help villagers improve one or another aspect of their lives have tended either to overlook and ignore these ongoing indigenous learning processes, or to dismiss them as too "traditional" to be useful. Left to fend for themselves and to compete with more prestigious imported educational models, these local institutions have tended either to erode or to lag increasingly behind the changing and expanding demands for new kinds of learning.

25. It is not too late, however, to reconsider the enhanced contribution that certain of these traditional educative processes, institutions, and personnel could make to filling the learning needs of young people. We shall return to this question in later chapters.

Formal Education

26. It is no secret that the rural primary and secondary schools in the poorer developing countries are in deep trouble -- even deeper trouble than generally realized. Despite the valiant efforts and sacrifices countries have made to extend their reach to a higher and higher percentage of school-age children, even now fewer than half the children in most rural areas, and as few as 10 percent in many, are completing four or more grades of primary school. Even of these, the great majority never get to secondary school. With few exceptions, drop-out rates in the early years of school are shockingly high in rural areas throughout the developing world. With the child population growing at close to 3 percent annually, the primary school system is hard pressed merely to maintain the previous rate of school participation, much less to make further strides toward the goal of 100 percent participation.

27. It would be unrealistic to suppose that this situation will be dramatically altered in the foreseeable future. During the 1950s and the first half of the 1960s, even in the poorest countries, school budgets grew considerably more rapidly than the economy and total public revenues, giving education an increasing share of the total. But this could not go on indefinitely. In recent years the growth of school budgets has slowed or even halted and the schools have been increasingly constrained, for their demand and costs have continued to grow apace.

28. This quantitative shortage, however, is by no means the whole of the problem. Educators have long been disturbed about what they see as an erosion of educational quality -- a marked decline in the levels of actual learning achievement by the pupils -- resulting from spreading sparse educational resources too thinly over an expanding school population. The assumption has been that this decline in quality can be reversed by a richer infusion of "inputs" into the schools -- more and better teachers, textbooks, facilities, and equipment -- relative to the number of pupils. Other problems, such as rising drop-out rates and the disproportionately low number of girls who are enrolled in and complete primary school have also given great concern.

29. Viewed in a larger frame, however, the problem is more fundamental. The root of the problem is that the conventional primary and secondary are both elements of a hierarchical academic structure that by its very nature is elitist and urban-oriented and is therefore basically ill-adapted to meeting the essential learning needs of the great majority of rural boys and girls who will live out their lives in poverty-ridden rural areas. At its best the conventional school in rural areas functions as an efficient conveyor belt, transferring a small number of able and motivated young people from the rural world to the urban world, leaving behind the vast majority

of boys and girls with broken dreams and often a crushing sense of failure.[3]

30. This is not to say that the conventional primary school, or even the secondary school, creates no benefits for rural children who remain in the countryside or that its contribution to rural development is nil. Those who actually learn to read and write, for example, and who have their eyes opened to a wider world of change and diversity, may well become leaders and change agents in their own rural communities or profit personally in a host of ways. The fact remains that they are less the products than the rejects of the system, the cardinal objective of which is to prepare them for the next rung on the academic ladder and ultimately for membership in a predominantly urban elite.

31. Thus, before exploring what nonformal education can do for the masses of rural youngsters who are bypassed or rejected by the formal schools, it is essential to ask what the schools themselves

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[3] "Everyone realizes that ... only a very small percentage of students will achieve social success; yet everyone who has received an education and everyone who hopes for one will in the future be unlikely to find satisfaction in what his home community has to offer. But, what is more serious is that he is also unequipped to build a different future at home, for the school has either driven the qualified people away to the town to join the migrant school drop outs, or it has not provided those who stay behind with greater technical knowledge than their illiterate brothers." From UNICEF Regional Office for West and Central Africa, Children, Youth, Women and Development Plans in West and Central Africa: The Lomé Conference (Abidjan, 1973), pp. 42-43.

could and should be doing for these boys and girls, and what basic changes would be required in the features and practices of the schools. To regard nonformal education merely as a temporary expedient to take up the slack until the day when conventional primary schooling can be made truly universal is not only to ignore economic realities but to avoid the fundamental issue -- the issue of whether the primary and secondary school as we know them today are really the right educational instruments for improving rural life in the poorest regions of the world.

32. The Faure Report raises the issue, UNESCO, and numerous national governments are reexamining the school in search of ways to make it a more effective instrument. But whatever the answer may be, it is clear, as our case studies in country after country demonstrate, that the formal education system today in the poorer countries -- and even in many less poor ones -- is meeting no more than a fraction of the essential learning needs of rural boys and girls, and this condition is unlikely to change substantially in the foreseeable future.

Nonformal Education

33. ICED's inventory of nonformal education programmes available to rural children and youth in the sample countries revealed a host of useful facts and ideas that will be dealt with in later chapters. The number of such programmes, their great diversity, and the energy and ingenuity that have been applied to them from many different

quarters are certainly impressive. The effectiveness of such programmes is often very difficult to determine, but it is clear that a number of them are contributing significantly, since they emerge usually to meet an immediate and specific need. In some instances, however, individual programmes suffer from many of the same problems and defects as conventional schooling, especially those that set out to emulate formal education. In short, the more conventional nonformal education programmes may be as ill-adapted to the variety of real and changing learning needs of rural children as formal schools are.

34. It must be added that these programmes are mostly very small relative to their total potential clientele. Hence, even when they achieve their goals, they hardly scratch the surface of the total need. It seems fair to say that, taken as a whole, nonformal education -- particularly for out-of-school rural children and youth -- has been given short shrift in the setting of priorities and the allocation of educational resources.

35. Viewed in the large, nonformal education in all of the countries examined presents a picture of extreme fragmentation, reflecting the diversity of sponsors and the natural inclinations of each sponsor to concentrate on its own particular specialty or enthusiasm, to run its own show free of interference or obligation to others.

36. This fragmentation -- the divorce of programmes not only from one another and from formal education but from complementary non-educational development factors in the same area -- has clearly

inhibited their overall effectiveness and frequently resulted in wasting scarce resources. How to ameliorate the ill-effects of this fragmentation without impairing the important assets of educational diversity, pluralism, and freedom of initiative that are so essential to a rural learning system is one of the key problems dealt with in this report.

37. In this preliminary tour d'horizon of the rural educational landscape, however, it will suffice to say that nonformal education programmes collectively, though they have demonstrated a considerable potential for helping to meet the learning needs of rural children and youth, are employing at present only a fraction of that potential. Collectively, too, they are serving only a small proportion of the children who need the most attention: preschoolers, out-of-schoolers, and girls.

38. Adding together the three main elements on the supply side of the rural educational equation -- the informal and indigenous, formal, and nonformal modes of learning -- we conclude that there is a wide and ominously growing rural education gap. This gap is widening not only because the number of young people is expanding, and because the educational opportunities open to them are few but also because the learning offered is frequently dysfunctional relative to their needs. The dynamic and irreversible changes taking place in rural societies are generating both larger and more diverse learning needs for those who are growing up in such environments.

Changing Perspectives on Rural Development and Education's Role

39. The basic trends and conditions of rural life and education sketched in previous sections of this chapter -- which have become much clearer and better documented in recent years -- have prompted a critical reexamination of earlier concepts, theories, doctrines, and priorities relating to rural development and in particular to education's role. Ideas and assumptions that were accepted as gospel only a few years ago are now being challenged, modified, and even rejected.

40. The central assumption on which most national development plans and allocation priorities rested for many years -- namely that a concentration of efforts to modernize and industrialize urban centers would set in motion forces that would soon uplift the lagging rural areas as well -- has not proved out in practice. Certainly, unsettling tides of change, as previously mentioned, have reached even the remotest villages, but for the most part they have not generated a broad and self-sustaining momentum of rural development. In retrospect the illusion was to assume that rural areas would develop without a massive and direct attack on their needs and problems.

41. Another central article of faith now being called into question is the notion that "economic development" and "social development" are two separate things, and that top priority must be given to the former in order for a country to be able, eventually, to afford enough of the latter. There is mounting evidence, however, that social development cannot wait, that it is all of a piece with economic

development and that the two (if they can really be distinguished at all) can only go forward hand-in-hand.

42. Economists are the first to point out these days, for example, that unless and until the growth of population in developing countries is brought into reasonable balance with their economic growth and potential, it will be impossible to achieve a minimum acceptable rise in family incomes and living standards. Similarly, in contrast to earlier times, more and more economists are today declaring that the achievement of more equitable distribution of income and land, and the creation of increased employment are just as important goals of national development as the increase of the overall GNP. Malnutrition, ill-health, lack of appropriate education, and sheer poverty are being more widely acknowledged as fundamental deterrents to economic development.

43. Out of this intellectual ferment, fueled by better facts and hard-earned lessons of experience, there is evolving a much broader and more realistic conception of what rural development is all about -- a broader vision of its basic goals, of its human, sociological, and political as well as economic dimensions, of how the process works, and of the more comprehensive and better-integrated kinds of development strategies needed to accelerate the process.

Changing Perspectives of Education

44. Education is part of this ferment in the reexamination of earlier premises, doctrines, and loyalties. Rarely if ever in history

has the contemporary conventional wisdom of education been so vigorously and fundamentally challenged so broadly and from so many directions -- including many creative educators who helped establish the practices they are now questioning.

45. It is worth recalling that conventional wisdom regarding education has evolved through three fairly distinct stages in less than a generation and is now on the threshold of a fourth. In the first flush of the new push for national development in the poorer regions of the world, starting in the early 1950s, education was viewed as a good thing in its own right; it was held that <u>every</u> child was entitled -- as a human right -- to at least a basic minimum of education. This view, based on Western ideals and experience, was encouraged by colonial and expatriate educators. Education in this context meant <u>formal schooling</u> as it then existed, and a basic minimum meant a full primary schooling, or at least enough to gain permanent functional literacy. It was taken for granted that the conventional primary school was the best and most feasible way to give all children -- whether in rich countries or poor, in cities or in the countryside -- a proper education.

46. Hence in this first phase, on these assumptions, the obviously correct strategy (which happily coincided with the politically potent wishes of many parents) was to multiply schools and enrolments as rapidly as possible. Any imperfections in the schools could be handled later. The momentum of this pure expansionist strategy has lasted to this day, but its intellectual basis soon moved to a second phase.

47. Educators were among the first to become alarmed by the side effects of this simplistic strategy -- its deleterious effect on quality (as judged by previously prevailing school "standards") and sharply rising drop-outs.

48. The main solution advocated in this second phase was to continue the linear expansion but to place an added emphasis on better trained and more highly "qualified" teachers, smaller classes, curriculum improvements, more books, better facilities -- in short, to regain the ground lost by adding richer inputs per student (thus raising unit costs). This conventional solution to what proved a highly unconventional problem made modest headway in some places but was largely frustrated by budgetary limitations combined with the irresistible pressures for sheer expansion.

49. Thus, "innovation" became the battle cry of the third phase, which crested late in the 1960s. This phase saw innovations, mainly in curriculum and educational technologies, aimed not only at improving quality in the old sense but at reducing unit costs and making educational programmes "more relevant" to the realistic needs and interests of the learners and to their practical employment and prospects.

50. Reinforced by nationalism and drives to reassert national culture and to strengthen ethnic roots, this third phase brought a refreshing sense of liberation from stifling pedagogical doctrines. Candid criticisms were voiced and heard, and legitimacy was granted to unorthodox proposals that would have been declared heretical under

the older conventional wisdom. A variety of significant experiments and developments took place in this new atmosphere -- such as the broad-scale school television programmes in El Salvador and Ivory Coast, the numerous efforts to "vocationalize" traditional academic secondary schools, and increasing interest in "open universities."

51. The one great limitation on this innovative phase is that intellectually it has been largely confined within the framework of the formal education system. Thus it has not gone to the real heart of the problem of meeting the essential learning needs of massive numbers of rural children and youth in the poorer countries of the world. These needs, for a variety of reasons, cannot be adequately met within the framework of the formal system, regardless of what innovations are adopted.

52. Growing recognition of this fact is leading educational thinking into a fourth phase, characterized by a much broader view of education that extends well beyond the conventional boundaries of the formal system. Later historians may well regard the Faure Commission report -- Learning to Be[4] -- as significant partly for having helped usher in this fourth phase, through the radical implications of its advocacy, for example, of "life-long education" and its conclusion that formal education has been heading down a dead-end street.

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[4] International Commission on the Development of Education, Learning To Be: The World of Education Today and Tomorrow (Paris: UNESCO; London: George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., 1972).

53. The present report is written in the spirit and perspective of this emerging fourth phase. Besides trying to shed new light on specific technical aspects of nonformal education programmes, it seeks to develop the thesis that such programmes should be seen not only as components of a larger educational whole but also in relation to dynamic social and economic factors that shape the life prospects and learning needs of particular learning clienteles in each geographic area.

54. If one accepts this thesis, then one perforce must join the search for new educational strategies that will fit into and reinforce broader and more integrated strategies of rural development founded on an enlarged and more humane vision of the basic goals and complex process of rural development.

55. Within the broad context sketched above, the next three chapters, drawing on evidence from the case studies, examine possible alternative approaches to particular categories of learning needs; Chapter 2 is addressed to basic general education; Chapter 3 to occupational education; and Chapter 4 to family life and civic education.*

56. The analysis then turns to a series of interrelated issues and problems that cut across all kinds of nonformal programmes and converge at the vortex of planning and evaluation. Chapter 5 views these

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*A classified inventory of the main programmes and projects examined by ICED is appended to this chapter.

issues and the process of planning and evaluation from the vantage point of a manager of a single educational programme. Chapter 6 broadens the perspective and views these and other issues in the context of a strategy aimed at fusing various educational programmes and related development activities into a more cohesive and effective whole -- area by area and nationwide. Chapter 6 also envisages as a guiding concept the progressive emergence of a comprehensive, highly diversified, and increasingly unified "rural learning system" that can serve people of all ages and development objectives of many kinds.

57. Omitted from this draft is Chapter 7, which in the final version will attempt to sum up and weave together the major analytical strands and recommendations of previous chapters into a coherent whole. Our earlier experiences in preparing our Final Report on the World Bank study convinced us that this summary chapter can best be written <u>after</u> the drafts of other chapters have been thoroughly and critically reviewed by cooperating agencies and individuals and the authors have profited from their comments and suggestions.

CLASSIFICATION OF PROGRAMMES AND PROJECTS

REVIEWED BY ICED

1. This inventory is not exhaustive since it does not embrace programmes outside the main case study countries. It includes, however, all the main programmes and activities selected for intensive examination (marked with *) together with the most significant of others covered in less detail in case study countries.

2. Programmes are listed under four broad headings (General Basic Education; Occupational Education; Social, Civic,and Cultural Education; and Coordinatory Mechanisms). Many programmes, of course, cut across these broad categories and where this is the case they are listed under more than one category.

I. GENERAL BASIC EDUCATION

i) As part of national studies salient features of the formal system were examined in: Mali, Kenya, Upper Volta, Thailand, Sri Lanka, Jamaica, Brazil, and Cuba.

ii) School Reforms

Ruralization, Mali*
Secondary School Reform, Sri Lanka*
Reform in Jombang, Indonesia*
'Schools to the Countryside,' Cuba*
'Schools in the Countryside,' Cuba*
Rural Education Centres, Upper Volta*

iii) School Equivalency Programmes

Secondary Equivalency Programme, Jamaica
Post-literacy Continuation Programmes, Kenya
Post-literacy Academic Programme, Thailand*
Project Minerva, Brazil (Pernambuco)
Mobral, Brazil (Pernambuco)*
National Youth Service, Kenya*
Youth Clubs and Centres, Kenya*
Clubs, Centres, and Camps, Jamaica*
Science Circles, Mali
ACPO, Colombia*
Boys' Town, Sri Lanka*

iv) Literacy

Functional Literacy, Mali*
Mobral, Brazil (Pernambuco)*
Literacy Campaign, Kenya
Literacy Programme, Jamaica
Literacy and Family Life, Thailand*

II. OCCUPATIONAL EDUCATION

i) School Reform

Secondary School Reform, Sri Lanka*
School Reform, Indonesia (Jombang)*
Rural Education Centres, Upper Volta*

ii) Agricultural

Youth Settlement, Sri Lanka
Young Farmers Clubs, Kenya
Young Farmers Clubs, Sri Lanka
4-S, Brazil (Pernambuco)*
4-H, Republic of Korea*
4-K, Kenya
4-H, Jamaica
4-H, Sri Lanka
CARs, Mali*

iii) Nonfarm and Trades

Mobile Trade Training Centres, Thailand*
National Youth Service, Kenya
Vocational Training Centres, Jamaica
Boys' Town, Sri Lanka*

iv) Mixed Agricultural and Nonfarm Skills

Village Polytechnics, Kenya*
COPs, Mali*
'Column' Training, Cuba
Worker-Farmer Training, Cuba
PIPMO, Brazil (Pernambuco)*
Youth Camps, Jamaica*

III. SOCIAL, CIVIC, AND CULTURAL EDUCATION

Sarvodaya Shramadana, Sri Lanka*
Comités culturels et de Plein Air, Mali
CARs, Mali*
Youth Clubs, Centres, Kenya
Youth Clubs, Centres, Camps, Jamaica*
Mouvement Pionniers, Mali
Mouvement des Femmes, Mali
Brazilian Assistance Legion (LBA), Brazil
Literacy and Family Life, Thailand*
Pramuka, Indonesia
Maendeleo ya Wanawake, Kenya
Women's Movement, Sri Lanka

IV. COORDINATING MECHANISMS

Board of Adult Education, Kenya*
Kenya Youth Council
PIPMO, Brazil
Advisory Committee on Nonformal Education, Thailand
Jamaica Youth Council*
National Youth Service Council, Sri Lanka

CHAPTER 2

APPROACHES TO BASIC GENERAL EDUCATION

1. This chapter explores one of the main areas common to formal and nonformal education. Their mutual task is to enable boys and girls to acquire the basic skills of literacy and numeracy in forms that can be functionally useful in their daily lives, along with an elementary understanding of the social and natural world around them, an introduction to the scientific mode of thinking and, desirably, a positive set of attitudes toward themselves, their fellow men, and their society, and an appetite for further learning and personal development.

2. For the purposes of this report we see these learning objectives as the essence of a first-stage "general education," recognizing that they must be modified and tailored to fit each group of learners in each situation, and that few programmes or institutions are likely to be able, by themselves, to accomplish all these objectives. Nevertheless, they coincide roughly with the proclaimed aims of most primary school systems throughout the world and they constitute appropriate goals and useful criteria for those types of nonformal programmes that seek to provide a basic general education to out-of-school children and youth.

3. Though basic general education as defined above cannot in reality be separated from other essential learning objectives, we are

treating it as a separate topic in this report partly for convenience but mostly because this is how educational programmes are usually organized. Most primary schools and academic secondary schools concentrate mainly if not exclusively on "general education," as do most of out-of-school literacy and school equivalency programmes, leaving it to others to provide more "practical" sorts of education and training.

4. The nonformal general education programmes examined in this study can be grouped roughly under three main headings: (1) literacy programmes, (2) school equivalency programmes, and (3) more radical approaches combining features of both formal and nonformal education. Before discussing each of these, we should note some serious common deterrents to fostering general education in poorer rural areas, which policy-makers and planners ought to take into account.

Deterrents to General Education in Rural Areas

5. General education programmes of any sort have formidable obstacles to overcome in rural areas of developing countries. First among these is the ubiquitous lack of resources. Almost universally, rural education programmes, which have the most difficult challenges, generally have the poorest means for coping with them -- the least-qualified teachers, the fewest and poorest learning materials, facilities, and equipment, and the most inadequate budgets.

6. Compounding the problem is the fact that in areas where literacy is extremely low the informal learning environment gives little reinforcement to organized educational efforts. Written materials are scarce or nonexistent because the written word plays little or no role in the daily life of the community, modern technologies are a rarity, and most adults are unschooled. Thus attempts to foster types of skills and knowledge that are alien to the area, and that may even run counter to traditional teachings (as in the case, for example, of teaching modern scientific ways of thinking) are bound to find little support in the day-to-day life of areas such as these. The same educational obstacles exist, of course, in teaching ghetto children in the cities, in contrast to teaching the children of "well-schooled" middle- and upper-class families.

7. Yet another obstacle to learning in many though not all poor rural areas -- and one that is generally underrated by outsiders -- is the language problem. The majority of developing countries have a variety of local languages, some not yet in written form. In such cases the official language of the government and the lingua franca of urban commerce and society is usually a foreign "international" language (generally that of the previous colonial power). Almost invariably the same foreign language serves also as the principal language of instruction in the formal education system. Rural primary school children are obliged to start mastering this foreign tongue from the outset -- even though it is scarcely ever used or heard

in their village and despite the fact that few will go on to secondary school or beyond and end up in a job requiring the foreign language. In many African countries, for example, children in rural primary schools spend half or more of their classroom hours trying to learn a foreign language, often before they have even become literate in their mother tongue.

8. Nonformal programmes are often saddled with the same problem. The Rural Education Centres in Upper Volta, for example, teach French as the main language -- partly at the insistence of parents who, not without good reason, see French as the passport to a city job for their son or daughter.

9. The emphasis on learning an official language is, however, only one manifestation of the ways in which conventional notions about basic general education are ill-suited to the needs of children in rural areas. In many formal, and nonformal school equivalency programmes as well, the use of standardized curricular materials and the bookish, sterile, and stylized sort of education provided, with an emphasis on examinations and certification, offer little to rural young people. Meanwhile those few who complete primary and go on to secondary school, for all of the options that this course may open up, become increasingly alienated from their local roots. And those who drop out are left with a sense of failure early in life -- before they can understand that the failure is not theirs but that of a system ill-adapted to their needs.

10. The role of boys and girls in the rural farm household and economy presents another obstacle to structured educational programmes, especially those with rigid time schedules. Children are a needed part of the farm labor force. Thus for many rural families there is a prohibitive opportunity cost in having their children attend school or out-of-school programmes.

11. Given all these deterrents, it is little wonder that rural educational programmes including those dealing for example with literacy have such a poor overall record of success and that, relative to urban schools, rural schools have much lower attendance and completion rates and generally poorer quality.

Literacy Programmes

12. It was not within the purview of this study to examine and evaluate literacy programmes in general, particularly since most of them, including those sponsored by UNESCO, are intended for adults only. (Actually, however, many youngsters often slip into them and are frequently among the highest achieving participants.) We did, however, encounter interesting literacy programmes open to adolescents in five of our case study countries -- Brazil, Jamaica, Kenya, Mali, and Thailand. Each of the five programmes examined has its own unique features, strengths, and weaknesses.

13. The innovative Thai programme makes literacy a component of a wide-ranging "family life" programme in which the participants

explore key beliefs and concepts central to their daily lives. Mali's functional literacy programme, which is integrated with special crop-production schemes in selected rural areas, is of special interest because it required putting a local language into written form. The success achieved in teaching literacy in the local language rather than in French has encouraged educational authorities to consider doing the same in rural primary schools — a good example of how nonformal education can sometimes bring about changes in formal education.

14. Brazil's nationwide MOBRAL programme encourages communities to organize their own literacy programmes and assists them by supplying reading materials and partial subsidies for the teachers. Many of Kenya's literacy programmes are self-help outcroppings of community development programmes, while others receive direct government support. Jamaica offers literacy training along with other varieties of training and recreational activities in youth centres, mainly in hub-towns and cities.

15. An important motivational factor in the Thai, Kenyan and Brazilian literacy programmes is that successful completion qualifies a participant to enter a full-scale primary school equivalency programme leading to an official certificate. Although relatively few people exercise this option, it is nevertheless considered to be a forceful inducement to entering these literacy programmes.

16. In addition to these programmes, some of the nonformal programmes reviewed in later chapters provide important lessons indicating that so-called practical subjects, properly handled, may offer an effective medium for achieving the essentials of a general education, including literacy, especially when compared with programmes that present general education in the abstract, isolated from the realities of the learner's daily life and environment. This notion of providing general education in conjunction with practical subjects, which underlies UNESCO's "functional approach" to literacy,[1] prompts one to ask why this pedagogical strategy would not be equally valid for use inside the schools on all subjects.

17. A few common problems of these and other literacy programmes deserve brief mention. First there is the difficulty of recruiting and training instructors who can work effectively with a mature and experienced audience and who, in the case of programmes combining literacy with other functional knowledge, are also competent in such knowledge. To find such people in the villages has proved very difficult; hence major reliance has had to be placed on primary school teachers. But most of these teachers find it difficult,

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[1]Functional literacy is often mistakenly equated with work-oriented literacy, which is actually only one limited application of the functional literacy approach. As Rene Maheu, Director General of UNESCO, has noted, "functional literacy provides a genuine introduction to life-long education." UNESCO Chronicle, November 1973, Vol. XIX, No. 11, pp. 404-405.

especially without considerable retraining, to avoid treating older learners like children. Moreover, the teachers often know less than some participants about the functional matter tied to the literacy and as a result they lapse into teaching literacy per se divorced from the subject matter. Good supervisors who could help teachers in these matters are even scarcer.

18. A related -- and fundamental -- problem is the lack of understanding and machinery to integrate literacy into other projects aiming at developing rural areas (though the Mali functional literacy programme and certain others appear to have had some success in this regard).

19. Another major handicap is the shortage of attractive reading materials well adapted to the interests, direct needs, competence, and learning styles of the audience, and the considerable difficulties involved in creating and disseminating such materials. Since many of these materials should be tailored to local differences, standardized materials for nationwide use in a country as large, say, as Brazil, are bound to be ill-suited to many sub-areas, particularly when they apply to such matters as agriculture, nutrition, and home improvement, where local conditions differ greatly. Local language variations, even in the same basic language, also create a need for differentiated learning materials and broadcasts.

20. Still another large problem combines the issues of motivation, duration of training, follow-up of new literates, and the practical utilization and retention of literacy. Overly optimistic assumptions

have led to disappointing results, especially in conventional, indiscriminate mass literacy campaigns aimed at boosting the national literacy rate dramatically. City-based planners, for example, commonly assume that virtually all rural people of every age are highly motivated to learn to read and write and are ready and able to make the heavy investment of time and energy required. They also assume that usable literacy can be acquired by most people, including adults, in only six to twelve months of part-time study, and that having achieved a modest level of literacy these new literates will find interesting things to read and in this way will further develop their skills. There is abundant evidence that disproves these common assumptions, yet they continue to be made.

21. The foregoing comments are in no way meant to denigrate the importance of literacy to developing countries or the need for extensive literacy training efforts. Rather they are intended to bring into focus some of the practical difficulties and limitations that must be anticipated and dealt with realistically in designing and operating any sort of literacy programme. Later we will suggest some selective approaches that might ensure greater and more lasting results than the conventional approaches to literacy training that have so often failed.

School Equivalency Programmes

22. Numerous developing countries have recognized the nced of many out-of-schoolers for a basic general education broader than simply literacy. They have made at least partial provision for meeting this need by one or another kind of "school equivalency" or "second chance" programme.

23. Many such programmes, it must be said, have been little more than token gestures that have benefitted only a handful of people. Even the more serious ones have usually been handled -- like most literacy courses -- as "adult education," thereby excluding younger out-of-schoolers who need a second chance as much as adults do. Many such programmes have also defeated their purpose by following too slavishly the curriculum content, learning materials, and teaching practices of the regular schools, which are often inappropriate not only for more mature out-of-school learners but even for the younger in-school pupils.

24. The case studies -- particularly in Brazil, Kenya, and Thailand -- include school equivalency programmes that indicate the potentialities and common problems of such programmes and in some instances contain significant innovations that other countries may find interesting.

25. To take but one example here, Thailand's recently rejuvenated primary and secondary school equivalency programme, conducted after hours in regular schools and with regular teachers, is serving a large and growing number of older teen-agers and young adults (the

minimum age for admission is 15 years), most of whom want to earn an official school certificate in order to improve their employment status or, as in the case of numerous young Buddhists serving temporarily as monks, to improve their ability to teach others.

26. A significant innovation in this Thai programme is the manner in which the regular school curriculum has been restructured so that part-time out-of-school learners can concentrate intensively on only two subjects at a time instead of five (which had proved to be a major drawback in the earlier school equivalency programme). Under this restructuring, three years of upper primary school (grades 5 through 7) are condensed into three self-contained semesters of six months each. These can be taken in whatever sequence and intervals the participant wishes, so long as they are completed within five years. More recently, efforts have been undertaken to revise the basic content of the curriculum to make it more relevant and interesting for mature learners, and these changes, it is hoped, will induce important curricular improvements in the regular school programme as well.

27. Though making substantial progress and enjoying much popular support, the programme is not without some serious problems, stemming partly from problems of the formal schools themselves -- a shortage of well-trained teachers and teaching materials, and insufficient resources for remedying these defects. Notwithstanding these problems, however, the Thai programme demonstrates at least two important points: first, that numerous young out-of-schoolers are anxious to

make up for what they missed in school, are willing to make an intensive effort to do so, and are capable of achieving the basic essentials of the regular school programmes in far less than half the usual number of hours of study and instruction; second, that any school system seriously interested in doing so can, at modest additional cost, successfully serve a large number of these motivated out-of-schoolers.

28. From this and other cases, it would appear that the essential conditions for success in school equivalency programmes include the following:

. A curriculum phasing and a time schedule suitable to the convenience of the intended audience.

. Clearly defined learning objectives and suitable curriculum content and study materials to fit the interests, maturity, and realistic learning needs of the learners (in other words, not just a carbon copy of the in-school program).

. Reasonably paid, enthusiastic, and self-confident instructors (not limited to regular school teachers) who receive such training as they may require to work effectively with more mature, experienced, and motivated learners.

. Strong backstopping services for local schools: for teacher training, guidance, and encouragement; for curriculum revision and the preparation of effective learning materials; and for assembling and analyzing pertinent facts, conducting necessary field investigations and operations research, and carrying out continuous evaluation.

29. To meet these requisites will cost substantial money, but the costs per student for the full programme can run well below those of conventional programmes.

Radical Approaches

30. For all their potential usefulness, literacy programmes and school equivalency programmes are at best only partial answers and have serious inherent limitations. Almost invariably they come under the domination of the formal school system, directly or indirectly, falling heir to whatever defects it may have and suffering from its superior prestige and ability to compete for the budget.

31. They generally suffer also from a legacy of being categorized as "adult education" programmes, despite efforts to redefine adult education more broadly. The idea of adult education,[2] which grew out of industrialized countries where it has served well, has been grossly inappropriate for less educationally developed countries. "Adult education" has been premised on the ability of the schools to provide for the basic general education of children and teenagers of schoolgoing age, while adult education remedies general educational deficiencies of unschooled or partially schooled adults and meets special needs complementing the school system. As applied to

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[2] This concept is itself undergoing basic change as is instanced in the reports of the three International Conferences on Adult Education sponsored by UNESCO in Elsinore (1949), Montreal (1960) and Tokyo (1972).

developing countries, it was assumed that with this division of labor between formal schools and adult education, illiteracy could be wiped out in only one or two generations. But this clearly has not happened, nor can it given these premises. In poorer countries, especially in rural areas, often no more than 10 to 20 percent of the school-age population get sufficient primary schooling or acquire permanent literacy. The rest are left with no alternative means of acquiring a basic general education, at least not until they become adults.

32. Yet as a result of this impractical theory, many ministries of education have wittingly or unwittingly made this massive group of out-of-schoolers (mainly between the ages of 10 and 16) virtually forbidden territory for nonformal programmes devoted to basic general education -- this in the name of "protecting standards" and guarding unwary parents from shoddy educational hucksters. In one of our sample countries there were even strong official efforts (ultimately unsuccessful) to discourage parents from initiating and financing schools, copied after the government-supported schools which could not accommodate their children, mainly on the grounds that the teachers were inadequately qualified.

33. If this ill-fitting division of labor between schooling and adult education is clung to by poorer countries, there can be little doubt that the familiar generational cycle of illiteracy and other educational deficiencies will repeat itself for countless generations to come, especially in the rural areas. The assumption that the only

way to break this cycle is by a massive educational effort directed at the younger generation is correct, but the strategy chosen -- to universalize the conventional primary school -- simply cannot be realized in the poorer countries for as far ahead as economists can make plausible projections.

34. Though reform is already going on in most countries, it often adds up to simply tinkering with the existing school curricula. A few developing countries, however, convinced that their inherited formal educational system was simply not the right instrument for building the kind of society they wanted, have sought more radical solutions to the problem -- solutions that would be both more democratic and more effective in promoting the general welfare and development of their people as a whole.

35. Most of these radical departures are still too new to permit close evaluation. Some are still in the blueprint stage, as in Ethiopia, where the government recently committed itself to a far-reaching plan to combine formal and nonformal education at the primary and secondary level in order to reach a much higher proportion of children and youth and to gear their education more realistically to their needs and prospects. The Ujamaa schools in Tanzania, involving the conversion of traditional primary schools into flexible learning centres for the whole community, are said to be getting well underway. Peru's far-reaching educational reform, adopted in 1971, which accents the expansion of educational services in rural areas

and plans extensive use of nonformal education fused with formal, is also moving into action.

36. Radical reform programmes in at least three countries -- China, Cuba, and Upper Volta -- have been in effect long enough to have yielded significant lessons. ICED has collected substantial documentary evidence on the first two and conducted direct field investigations of the third, Upper Volta.

37. One striking feature of China's radical reform is the thorough-going decentralization of initiative and responsibility for primary education to individual communities and communes with a view to making them in every sense an organic part of the local society and economy. Cuba's "schools-in-the-countryside" take a different approach but share the same objectives of deemphasizing the academic, routine, and isolated character of the schools, of making direct participation in the local economy an integral part of a student's education, and of making the schools a living part of the whole community.

38. Upper Volta's Rural Education Centres (RECs) were started more than a decade ago as an alternative to the primary schools. As originally conceived, the primary schools and RECs would ultimately merge into one system. Catering to teen-age rural boys and girls, these centres, over a three-year period, combine the equivalent of the first four years of primary schooling with practical training in agriculture, other rural skills, and family life education. In terms of the original vision, the RECs have been only partially

successful, but a strong case can be made that they have never really been given a fair trial. Almost from the start they have been a political and professional storm centre and have repeatedly lost out in popular appeal and budgetary shares against the traditional primary school. Nevertheless, they have made some significant accomplishments and offer some highly useful lessons to other poor agrarian countries, not least of all on the tactics of educational innovation.

39. It is significant that Upper Volta, China, and Cuba, though they adopted quite different approaches, all built their radical reforms along the same basic lines:

1) they designed a rural-oriented educational system to meet the learning needs of rural children and youth, rather than trying to patch up a basically urban and academically oriented system to serve the purpose;

2) they blended formal and nonformal educational components;

3) they paid close attention to costs and economic feasibility in designing a solution and tried to make the educational processes as self-supporting and community-supported as possible; and

4) they placed heavy responsibility on the local community for operating the educational programmes and sought to integrate the schools as fully as possible into the whole life of communities.

40. These would appear to offer important and valid principles for any country, regardless of its ideology or level of development. Yet they are largely honored in the breach by today's centrally managed and relatively monolithic educational systems and by many nonformal educational programmes as well -- those that have taken their shape and direction largely from outside models and sources of initiative and support and are often poorly integrated with the authentic needs and wishes of the community.

41. Radically transforming an inappropriate, excessively costly, and malfunctioning educational system is no easy matter in any society. It requires first of all a technically sound and well-conceived alternative model, preferably one that has been sufficiently pre-tested on a developmental scale to eliminate the worst faults before applying it on a broader scale. But designing a technically good plan is perhaps the easiest part of the problem. The foremost challenge is to mobilize sufficient enthusiastic and sustained support for the idea -- from the educational profession itself, from the parents, young people, and general public, and from the nation's leadership at every level -- to enable the scheme to become launched and to survive long enough to prove its worth. This is especially difficult to accomplish where the very symbols of formal education, however inadequate the content, carry enormous prestige and political weight. Much more study is needed not simply on what kinds of educational reforms are called for but on <u>how to bring them about</u>.

Untapped Potentials

42. Whatever course of action a poor country decides on to provide basic general education to a much larger proportion of its children and youth -- whether it retains the primary schools in much their present form with some improvements and adds on substantial out-of-school equivalency programmes, or instead undertakes a radical transformation of its educational arrangements -- it will need to mobilize new resources.

43. Each country, we are convinced, possesses significant untapped potentials for these purposes, taking different forms in different places.

44. Wherever there are dynamic self-help community development programmes there is likely to be good soil for growing a vigorous school equivalency programme, operated largely by volunteers with only a modicum of practical advice and help from the outside.

45. Similarly, rural training centres where they exist and regardless of what special purpose they were originally created to serve, offer a promising facility and organizational structure for answering the needs of out-of-school rural children and youth for general education, especially in combination with other useful kinds of learning.

46. More attention than previously is today being given to modernizing, broadening, and upgrading the instructional capabilities of traditional religious instruction systems -- such as Buddhist Wat

schools, Moslem Mosque schools, Coptic and other Christian schools -- in order to augment the limited capabilities of the publicly supported secular schools. The later version of this report will cite some interesting examples -- in Ethiopia, Iran, Laos, and Nigeria. The potentialities of such religious channels for instruction in secular studies deserve much fuller investigation, granting that it may not be feasible or even desirable in some situations to use them more extensively.

47. There is also a very considerable basic educational capacity of national military services. In a good number of developing countries, China for one, the military services are providing a substantial amount of education usable in civilian life -- literacy and other basic general education as well as technical skills and even agricultural know-how.

48. Radio and newspaper, for example, can be shaped into effective tools for general and other types of education -- as they have been, for example, in the ACPO program in Colombia, and in radio-correspondence school equivalency programmes in Kenya and elsewhere in East Africa. Newspapers in some countries have devoted regular space to relevant readings for new literates. This could be done on a much broader scale and new small local newspapers could be started that could make literacy a lively function in many rural communities.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The Need

49. Few would deny that all rural children in a developing country, or certainly as many as possible, should have full opportunity to acquire the main ingredients of a basic general education, shaped to fit their circumstances and prospects and to serve as a foundation for a life of fruitful learning. What matters most is that they get these ingredients somewhere en route to adulthood, not that they get each one at some specific age or by some particular method. At present, however, the basic general education needs of many millions of out-of-school children and youth are being largely ignored while attention and resources are concentrated on the in-school minority and, to a far lesser extent, on literacy and other nonformal programmes for adults.

50. The regular primary schools in most rural areas -- notwithstanding the valiant efforts many of them are making and apart from the question of their unfortunate urban and academic orientation -- are simply not capable and are unlikely to become capable even with continued expansion of handling more than part of the total task.

51. Sooner or later every developing country, if it has not already done so, is going to have to modify radically its formal education system from top to bottom and to adopt unconventional approaches to meeting the basic general education needs of the vast number of neglected children and youth in its rural areas and urban ghettos.

There is no other way. This applies with double force to the poorer and least educationally developed countries, though others will also have to depart substantially from customary patterns, including the industrialized nations where these now widespread patterns first took shape many decades ago.

52. Radical educational changes and innovations are obviously not an end in themselves; they must be the right kinds of changes to fit the needs, resources, and other conditions of the particular situation. Hence they must be thought-out and prudently developed and tested on a limited scale before being generally applied. All of this takes considerable time and effort. There is never really a time when radical educational changes can be undertaken, or even seriously considered, without risk of opposition and controversy; therefore, given the urgency of the problem, the sooner a beginning is made the better, and the broader the participation of all interested parties in the process, the greater its chances for success. Moreover there may be exceptional situations where the educational institutions are failing so miserably and creating such social and political havoc that the best thing to do is to close them down until appropriate alternatives can be worked out.

53. There does not exist, nor is there likely to emerge, any well-tested "alternative model" that any country can borrow and apply with assured success; each country is obliged to work out its own best solutions to fit its own circumstances -- though in the

process it can benefit greatly from the experience of others. Ideally this step-by-step process begins with fact-finding, critical self-examination and the exploration of possible alternatives and moves on to experimentation and careful testing of the new approaches on a limited scale, then finally proceeds by stages to the broader application of new techniques, materials, and so forth that have emerged successfully from the pilot stage. Not everything has to or can change at once, but the various changes along the way must be sufficiently related and timed to one another so that it is a coherent process and not a chaotic piecemeal one.

54. A good way for any country to start this process, we suggest, is through the kind of "stock-taking" exercise recommended in the first report. This short, intensive exercise, it will be recalled, would seek early answers -- judgments, approximations, and rough estimates -- to five key questions:

(1) What is the scale and character of the minimum essential learning needs of rural children and youth? (The same question could be asked about urban children too.)

(2) What educational provisions (informal, formal, and nonformal) already exist for meeting these needs, how well are they performing, and what portion of the total requirement are they already meeting?

(3) What arrangements exist for improving the coordination and mutual reinforcement of these various educational activities, how well are they working, and how might they be strengthened?

(4) What resources are now being used and what potential resources -- local, national, and external -- might be mobilized in the future to undergird a large expansion and improvement of learning opportunities for children and youth?

(5) What are the major shortcomings in existing educational structures, programmes, and processes that will clearly require drastic change to remedy; what alternative solutions merit serious exploration; what particularly promising opportunities warrant consideration for immediate priority action?

55. Whilst the system is in process of being radically transformed, however, some existing educational modes which will find a role within this new orientation have an immediate potential which can be strengthened. Certainly both formal schools as well as literacy and school-equivalency programmes, for all their limitations, constitute an existing foundation for new ways of providing basic general education.

Suggested Strategy for Spreading Literacy

56. Our findings have reinforced the widely held observation that conventional classroom-type literacy courses that concentrate on teaching literacy in isolation from things that literacy is used for hold little promise of answering the vast need for literacy in developing countries (though they may certainly do good for a limited number of people). Highly publicized national literacy campaigns of the crash programme variety -- aimed at "abolishing literacy" in four or five years -- are particularly vulnerable to dismal failure.

57. A far more promising strategy, we suggest, for spreading literacy and putting it to good use would have these features:

(1) It would embrace out-of-school older children and teenagers as well as adults. There is certainly strong reason to open up still wider educational opportunities for rural adults, but this should be done in a context that provides equivalent or even wider opportunities for younger members of the community. Otherwise the cycle of illiteracy that developing countries are eager to interrupt will continue.

(2) It would give primary attention to selected promising "growth points" for literacy. For example, geographic areas that have reached a sufficiently dynamic stage of transition both require and invite a large expansion in the use of

written materials and records in a wide variety of economic and social activities. Other growth points would be particular sub-groups whose chosen or prospective roles particularly required literacy skills for effective performance.

(3) It would wherever possible make the acquisition of literacy a by-product of other kinds of learning activities of direct interest and value to the daily lives of the particular learners.

(4) It would devote a generous share of the available resources: (a) to the determination of the characteristics and actual interests and needs of the proposed clientele before initiating any programme, (b) to the orientation, guidance, and steady encouragement of instructors, whether professionals or volunteers, (c) to the preparation of instructional and reading materials well tailored to the interests and needs of each type of clientele in each area, and (d) to a modest but adequate monitoring of each programme's performance and results, including periodic checks on how former participants are using what they learned.

(5) It would include a massive and sustained effort to satisfy the first requirement for spreading literacy -- namely,

a large and continuing supply of relevant, diversified, and attractive reading matter available in a variety of forms in geographic areas where there is now a dearth of anything to read.

58. Many of these recommendations apply with equal force to school equivalency programmes and formal schools as well.

The Potential of School Equivalency Programmes

59. Virtually any school system with the will to do so can mount a substantial school equivalency programme that can help large numbers of out-of-school youth (and adults) to acquire the essentials of a general education and at the same time, especially at the secondary level, serve to upgrade large numbers of primary-level teachers. This is an area also where voluntary organizations can make an important contribution and where local self-help schemes are often feasible. Ministries of education, however, must be flexible and must give positive encouragement and practical assistance to such nonofficial efforts rather than merely taking a negative "regulatory stance." We recommend, therefore, that each developing country explore the possibilities for such programmes, both official and nonofficial, including the improvement and enlargement of any that already exist.

60. School equivalency programmes are not, however, a panacea for curing rural education shortages and most have certain inherent

short-comings. Nevertheless they can help considerably as they can be initiated and expanded fairly quickly at relatively modest cost, and they provide a practical way to make fuller use of existing facilities and personnel.

61. We would further recommend, however, that countries not rush into such programmes without making preparations and that they avoid making them simply carbon copies of what goes on in regular classrooms. On the contrary, both school equivalency and literacy programmes should be seen as laboratories for developing major needed changes in the regular schools.

62. We would emphasize that school equivalency programmes that make use of existing facilities, though substantially less costly per student than regular full-time schools, cannot be run successfully "on the cheap." They require a sufficient budget not only to pay local staff adequately (except where able and willing volunteers are available) but also for the preparation and continuing back-stopping activities mentioned above.

63. Finally, success in bringing about any of the kinds of educational changes and innovations discussed in this chapter, and in the chapters that follow, depends less on their technical soundness and suitability (as important as this is) than on the general state of attitudes on the part of all who are affected by such changes, on the enthusiastic support of those in leadership positions at all levels, and on the general political atmosphere and the degree of commitment by the leaders and the people to a common vision of a better future. The sort of stocktaking exercise suggested earlier

could apply, at least in the first instance, only to basic general education and to rural children and youth, but there is no reason, other than practical limitations of personnel, availability of facts and so forth, why it could not be broadened to include urban areas also and the other kinds of learning needs discussed in the next chapters. It is simply a case of cutting the suit to fit the cloth. If carried out well and in the open, with wide circulation and discussion of thought-provoking facts, such a stocktaking could contribute importantly to creating a conducive atmosphere for moving ahead with desirable educational changes.

CHAPTER 3

APPROACHES TO EDUCATION FOR EARNING A LIVING

1. Basic general education as defined earlier can improve the productive potential and employment prospects of rural young people, but it does this best when accompanied or followed by some form of general work-oriented education or more specific skill training related to the local economy. This chapter examines various possibilities for providing such occupational orientation and training.

2. These possibilities must be seen in the context of a cluster of problems that are preoccupying country leaders today: how to create more jobs for the growing rural labor force; how to achieve a more equitable distribution of income among rural families; how to boost production on small farms in order to feed a growing national population; how to invigorate and expand off-farm economic activities to absorb surplus rural labor. A cross-cutting problem for educators is how better to relate educational efforts to the realistic manpower needs and employment conditions in each rural area. These problems apply also, of course, to urban areas, but in agrarian countries their scale is vastly greater in the rural areas.

3. Rural parents and their children are similarly preoccupied by these employment and income problems -- seen in miniature from their local vantage point. For them the foremost purpose of education, regardless of what educational philosophers may say about its loftier aims, is to enhance one's chances for a better job -- preferably a wage-paying or salaried job in the city, or at least better-paying

employment in the rural areas. In view of their basic circumstances and their observation of the generally high correlation between education and getting ahead in the world, this pragmatic concept of education is highly appropriate. The problem is to make educational programmes equally appropriate.

Employment Prospects for Rural Young People

4. It will help place the matter in perspective if we examine briefly the likely employment prospects for boys and girls growing up in the rural areas and the poorer agricultural districts of developing countries.

Three Employment Markets

5. The first point to bear in mind is that developing countries generally have three fairly distinct employment markets. The smallest but most attractive of these covers wage and salary employment in the modern sector; the largest but least lucrative is the self-employment market which covers great numbers of subsistence and semi-subsistence farmers as well as village artisans, craftsmen, and tradesmen; in between, in the semi-modern sector, is the cash employment market which covers, for example, field laborers hired by larger commercial farmers and part-time workers at odd jobs in the towns.

6. These three markets overlap somewhat; often the same persons work in two of them, such as subsistence farmers who hire out to larger commercial farmers or take odd jobs in town to earn cash. Still, the distinction is useful because it has important implications for rural education, employment, and migration. The skills required to function effectively in these markets differ considerably, even when

they wear the same label, as do the means by which they are best acquired. Thus, for example, an urban-type skill training programme introduced into a rural area is more likely to stimulate migration to the city than to contribute to the development of that rural area.

Employment Distribution of Rural Youths

7. The first pertinent question is how a cohort of boys and girls in a poor rural area is likely to be distributed eventually among these three employment markets. The answer, obviously, will vary considerably according to such factors as the natural resource endowment of each area, its present development level and dynamic, the general economic structure and rate of development of the whole country, and the nature of government policies, priorities, and strategies regarding rural development. But as a general rule, it is likely that only a small minority of these boys and girls -- probably 10 to 20 percent at most -- will move to a major city and obtain more or less permanent wage or salary employment. Generally these will be the ones who have at least a full primary schooling and perhaps a year or more of secondary schooling, and good connections, through their families or others, in the city.

8. Most of the others will remain anchored to the non-modern self-employment market, principally in farming, perhaps supplementing their income when possible with part-time cash employment in the semi-modern sector. Their best hope for a regular cash-paying job in the semi-modern sector will be in the nearest market town or provincial city, providing it is in a state of dynamic growth, which will stem

usually from agricultural progress in the area. These rural "hub-towns," which serve as intermediate bridges between the villages and modern urban centres, can generate many new jobs to absorb "surplus" rural labor, especially if government policies are directed at spurring their growth.

9. The opening up of new arable land -- as in the Nile Valley in Egypt, the Amazon Valley in Brazil, parts of Indonesia, and the Mekong Valley in Southeast Asia -- also creates new options for young farmers living in more crowded or less fertile areas. But in many parts of the developing world -- India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Java, for example -- there is little new land that can be brought under cultivation at reasonable cost, and the growing rural population is already pressing hard against existing land.

Educational Limitations and Priorities

10. The point to be emphasized is that education by itself cannot be expected to create new and better-paying employment for rural young people in the absence of other favorable circumstances for economic development. In economically dormant, low-potential areas, the best solution may be to prepare young people for leaving the area, if there are more promising areas to move to. Where favorable circumstances for development do exist and a dynamic is created -- for example, by improvement in agricultural inputs and markets, by government investments in rural infrastructures and assistance to small industries in rural towns, and by well-integrated and vigorously prosecuted agricultural development efforts -- then the right kinds of educational

responses to newly generated employment opportunities and learning requirements can considerably accelerate development.

11. Given the kinds of employment prospects sketched above, which in most poor rural areas are rather grim, governments are faced with two basic questions regarding occupational education: (1) How should priorities be assigned between the minority who will migrate to the modern urban centre, the other minority who will take up full-time employment in the semi-modern rural hub-towns, and the great majority who will eke out a living mainly through self-employment in agriculture? (2) What are the best means for providing the kinds of training required for these quite different kinds of careers?

12. Judging from the case studies and other evidence, all forms of occupational education have been seriously neglected in most rural areas, but within these limitations preference has been given to developing skills for urban markets, not to agriculture or non-farm rural employment. Taken as a whole, newly established training programmes have been more a stimulus to urban migration by rural young people than to rural development. Our main interest here is in possible ways to provide occupational education for those who will remain in the villages or rural towns.

13. Before we discuss some of the alternative approaches to providing such education, however, we should first note that there is a fundamental distinction between two types of occupational preparation. On the one hand, there is actual training in specific skills. This type of training is generally dependent upon sufficient maturity in the trainees. It is closely tied to employment opportunities

in the skill for which training is given, and is ultimately dependent for its effectiveness on whether such opportunities exist. It is generally most successful when trainees are already employed, working at the skill or an allied skill for which training is being given.

14. A broader form of education related to occupations might be termed employment- or occupational-orientation. This type of education embraces acquainting young people with the range of employment opportunities open to them, but it has also a much more subtle dimension -- that of shaping and developing certain attitudes and habits toward work. Since this type of education can be imparted to young children as well as older youth, and since it is often a significant component in the aspirations of young people, it has been one of the key concerns of those who would reorient the formal school system. As discussed later in this chapter, in several countries reforms have been undertaken to improve the ability of primary and secondary schools to orient the young to the world of work and particularly to occupational realities.

Indigenous Skill Training Systems

15. The great bulk of skills that sustain the economies of developing countries have been created by the indigenous training systems referred to in Chapter 1. In most occupations, even in the cities, the more sophisticated "modern" training institutions that have been established mainly in the past 20 years are contributing only marginally to the total supply of skills, including those tied to modern technologies.

16. Most rural boys and girls at about age ten begin to participate in the world of work and learn farming techniques and other rural skills from their parents and neighbors, craftsmen, traders, and others on the rural scene. Bakers, tailors, carpenters, masons, and the like are generally trained through traditional apprenticeships. Even in "newer" skills, these indigenous training systems predominate. Bangladesh and Indonesia, for example, both have modern, foreign-aided training facilities for automobile repair, but the great bulk of motor vehicle repair and maintenance work that keeps their economies rolling is handled by small shops run by one or two experienced craftsmen and a few apprentices (who may later set up small shops of their own).

17. Seldom, it would appear, have modern training experts explored the possibility of broadening and upgrading indigenous training, for example, by providing part-time technical and entrepreneurial training for the owners of small businesses so that they could be better teachers of their apprentices, and by providing appropriate general and technical education to the apprentices themselves after working hours. The first impulse of most modern training experts, it seems, is to create de novo some new training model, usually resembling one they were familiar with in an industrialized country.

Modern Institutionalized Vocational Training

18. The "modern" vocational training programmes -- both formal and nonformal -- take a variety of forms including vocational and agricultural secondary schools, polytechnics, technical training centres, and accelerated skill training programmes. They are typified by the following features (though not all have every one):

entrance is limited to applicants with at least several years of formal schooling; enrolments are generally minuscule in relation to the age group needing occupational training; curriculum includes a combination of "theory" and shop practice (and sometimes elements of more general education); most provide only for pre-employment training, which usually takes place in specially equipped facilities to which trainees come on a regular basis; programmes are generally full-time (some are residential) and of relatively long duration -- nine months to three or four years; instructors are professionally qualified in terms of a prescribed minimum of formal education plus specialized training; most lead to an officially recognized certificate; and unit costs -- both capital and recurrent -- are substantially higher than academic secondary schools.

19. These types of programmes are for the most part urban-centered. However, as concern for rural development has increased they have tended to spread to rural towns. There have been no systematic international studies of the comparative costs and effectiveness of these various types of highly institutionalized training programmes. Such evidence as ICED could gather, however, makes it clear that they are not a viable solution in most rural situations (and they are a doubtful solution even in most urban situations). They are much too expensive for poor countries to afford on a large scale; they usually have extreme difficulties recruiting competent instructors; often they fail to attract enough students to fill their places; and a high proportion of their graduates have difficulty finding employment or end up in jobs that do not utilize their training. We

examined a few institutionalized training programmes especially designed for rural settings -- for example, the COPs (Centres à Orientation Pratique) and the CARs (Centres d'Animation Rurale) in Mali, and Jamaica's former Youth Camps. While each of these had obvious merits, they suffered from one or more of the same basic handicaps listed above.

Vocationalizing the Secondary School

20. The same generic set of problems arise when developing countries undertake to "vocationalize" their academic secondary schools by adding "practical" studies to the curriculum in order to provide employable skills to students who will not go on to higher education. The introduction of such "terminal" secondary programmes has been a dominant feature of secondary school reforms in recent years. It is the hallmark, for example, of Sri Lanka's recent reform; it has been advocated by the National Education Commission of Bangladesh; and new proposals are leading to these kinds of changes in Jamaica.

21. There has not been, to our knowledge, any systematic international study of the results of these efforts. On the whole, however, they appear somewhat unsuccessful. Certain employable skills, such as typing, shorthand, bookkeeping, and drafting, that lend themselves to classroom instruction and do not require large investments in equipment can undoubtedly be handled well in secondary schools, if good teachers can be found. Instruction in agricultural, mechanical, and construction skills, on the other hand, runs up against the same problems of high costs, teacher shortages, and lack of integration

with the local economy and employment market. Moreover, the handful of boys and girls in rural areas who do get to secondary school are strongly inclined to stay on the academic track in hopes of entering post-secondary education.

Possible Alternatives

22. Some of our case studies suggest possible alternatives to full-time institutionalized training or to adding practical studies to the academic school curriculum. One of these is Thailand's programme of Mobile Trade Training Schools (MTTS) which provides part-time training in specific skills for adolescent boys and girls with a minimum of four years of primary schooling (common in Thailand). Its unit costs are much lower than a full-time vocational secondary school and it fits into the time schedule of young people with jobs. Cuba's "schools-in-the-countryside" combine classroom instruction in regular subjects with practical learning outside the schools by turning students over to local craft societies, farm organizations, and other economic groups to gain work skills and first-hand experience in the economic life of the community which could never be acquired in a classroom. The Boys' Town School in Sri Lanka, which is largely self-supporting, combines general education and training in a variety of skills along with developing important character traits. Its main drawback is that it could probably not be replicated on a large scale.

Training Future Farmers

23. The various kinds of institutionalized training programmes mentioned above concentrate largely on non-farm occupational skills.

Much less attention has been paid -- relative to the need -- to preparing young people for work in agriculture. This is a serious gap, not only because the bulk of rural young people will follow agricultural careers but because, unless they become more productive farmers than their parents, the developing world will suffer increasingly severe shortages of food and fibre.

24. A variety of different approaches to agricultural training for rural young people have been tried, but practically all on a very limited scale. Most of them have run up against the same basic obstacle -- namely, the low esteem for agriculture as a career in most developing countries. This distaste for agriculture showed up in the Jamaican Youth Camps where, until 1973, all participants were required to devote the first six months to agricultural training and practice. Thereafter, when they were given a free choice, almost all chose training in non-agricultural fields. They could hardly be faulted for this, given the unattractiveness of small-scale farming in Jamaica and the brighter opportunities offered by the cities.

Ruralizing Primary and Secondary Schools

25. Attempts to "ruralize" the primary school have been a hardy perennial. They date back to the early colonial days in British Africa and are still current in Francophone Africa. The documentary record indicates that they have generally failed, principally because parents and teachers alike were far more interested in preparing children to escape from agriculture into more modern and rewarding occupations than in producing "little farmers," and also because most primary school children are not yet mature enough for occupational

training. Thus, though the rural primary school could play an important role in developing attitudes and a positive orientation toward rural pursuits, they generally serve to reinforce parents' hopes for schooling for their children that will lead toward the goal of nonagricultural, and preferably urban, careers -- however unlikely this prospect is today.

26. Secondary level agricultural schools, at least where ICED encountered them, are also in an unenviable position. Young people tend to regard them as a last resort if they cannot get into a "regular" secondary school, and many who enrol have no serious intention of spending their life in farming. These agricultural schools are for instance misfits in a country such as the Republic of Korea.[1] Their graduates are not considered sufficiently qualified to enter either government agricultural services or an agricultural college, yet they consider themselves over-qualified to return to the family farm. Hence they do their best to get a city job. The same applies to many agricultural colleges; a high proportion of their students are products of urban general high schools who failed to gain admittance to the regular university; frequently more than half of them abandon the agricultural field for a city job immediately after graduation. The irony is that many rural boys and girls would welcome an agricultural college education and a good post in a rural service. Yet, because they lack a sufficiently strong secondary education -- the kind that develops competence in passing

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[1] From Farmer Education Program of the Office of Rural Development in the Republic of Korea, ICED/IBRD Case Study No. 5 (Essex, Conn., July 1972) by Manzoor Ahmed.

academic tests — they cannot compete with second- or third-string urban secondary school graduates on the admission examinations. Agricultural schools and colleges run by ministries of education, rather than ministries of agriculture, have had a particularly difficult time in gearing their programmes to the realities of agriculture and in promoting their graduates into high-level careers in agriculture.

Young Farmers Clubs

27. A quite different approach is represented by the Young Farmers Clubs and 4-H-type clubs in most countries throughout much of Latin America, Africa, and Asia (including the bulk of ICED's case study countries). The philosophy, principles, and methods underlying this "club" approach are admirable. Yet almost everywhere, so far as the available evidence reveals, their coverage has remained very limited and their long-term impact is in doubt.[2] Though tracer studies on former club members are extremely rare, the fact that most clubs are tied to schools — especially secondary schools -- as extra-curricular activities strongly suggests that few of their members take up agricultural careers, except in richer countries (such as the United States where 4-H Clubs started), where secondary education is widespread and farming is more rewarding and respected. We gained

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[2]The Republic of Korea is a notable exception. There the government has put substantial funds into special training centres for selected 4-K members and has made a large effort to train adult volunteers as local leaders of 4-K clubs. As a consequence, the number of clubs and members is proportionately much higher than in most other countries. There is also some evidence that many club members later make careers in agriculture.

the impression also that these clubs usually cater mainly to the children of better-off rural families who have readier access to a piece of land or an animal or such other inputs as may be required for their club "projects."

28. Notwithstanding the limited coverage and impact of these clubs, there are great advantages and potential in local youth organizations that combine recreation and social activities with practical training and experience in agriculture and other useful skills, and which encourage cooperation and initiative among young people. The extensive experience, goodwill, leadership, and organizational structure that have been built up over the years by the 4-H and Young Farmers Clubs are an important asset that might well be drawn upon to serve a much broader and more representative clientele of rural boys and girls in the future. But the missing ingredients or obstacles that have kept the old models from spreading will have to be discovered and remedied.

Rural Education Centres

29. Upper Volta's Rural Education Centres (RECs), mentioned earlier, represent still another approach to preparing young people for a career in agriculture. An unanticipated and significant outgrowth of these RECs -- and one that represents further development of a traditional indigenous system -- is the spontaneous formation of cooperative groups by REC graduates. Graduates have in some instances banded together to organize and operate commercial agricultural ventures and also to continue their general education. Such cooperative groups are now being actively encouraged by the government.

30. One of the most appealing aspects of the multi-faceted youth programme in Jombang, Indonesia, is that, rather than divorcing training from real life as is so often done, it ties training in agricultural production, processing, and marketing to economic ventures with cash rewards. Its ventures have included such projects as egg production, fish cultivation, and rice hulling, run by the young people themselves.

31. Having examined or learned of a great variety of approaches to preparing rural young people for more productive careers in agriculture, we are left with two strong convictions. First, there is no one best way; there is room for many approaches and combinations of approaches, suited to each national and local set of circumstances. Second, despite the many models that have been tried, training in agriculture remains the largest occupational need of rural young people and, for its importance, the most neglected need.

Youth Corps and Service Programmes

32. Another fairly common approach to providing occupational preparation has been through special youth programmes organized in the form of youth corps, brigades, services, or camps. Our assessment of this approach is based on observation of the National Youth Service in Kenya, Jamaica's Youth Camps, the National Development Corps and National Youth Pioneer Corps in Malaysia, and a review of documentary materials on similar programmes elsewhere.[3]

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[3]Commonwealth Secretariat, Youth and Development in Africa (London, 1970) and Youth and Development in Asia and the Pacific (London, 1971).

33. The original motivations for these programmes have varied from keeping unemployed young people off the streets and out of trouble to the more positive goals of providing them with remedial general education and employable skills and developing good character traits. In a few instances youth corps, in addition to doing socially constructive work, have served as para-military forces to assist the government in maintaining order and stability.

34. Although their organizational structures, programmes, and methods differ greatly, these special youth programmes often share the following features:

- They are full-time residential programmes lasting from one to two years, usually combining occupational training with recreational and cultural activities and general character building.
- They cater to relatively older youths -- typically from 15 to 25 years old -- and are mostly for boys.
- Their education admissions requirements are generally more flexible than institutionalized vocational training programmes; some admit illiterates and provide remedial general education.
- Their enrolments are very small relative to the total potential clientele.
- Though some provide agricultural training, their main emphasis is on urban skills and the bulk of their trainees later seek urban employment.
- Their capital and recurrent costs per trainee are usually very high -- often two to three times as high as general

secondary schools or vocational schools.

- To varying degrees, however, they are partially self-supporting (e.g., Jamaica Youth Camp participants grow some of their own food) or they carry out public projects of economic value (e.g., road-building in Kenya).

35. There is little doubt that such programmes have often rendered useful social services and that a high proportion of their participants have benefitted, particularly by gaining an advantage in the employment market (including government employment) over other out-of-school youth. It is clear, however, that special youth service programmes of this kind, especially because of their high costs, can offer no more than a peripheral solution to the general problem of occupational training and employment for out-of-school youth.

More Integrated and Locally Tailored Approaches

36. Most of the approaches and programmes discussed thus far follow some familiar international model, are applied fairly uniformly nationwide, and serve only a small clientele. Further, they are often poorly adapted to local labor market conditions and poorly integrated with other development activities in the same area.

37. Some useful clues for overcoming these disabilities are suggested by several locally tailored and more integrated programmes such as the experimental Barrio Development School in the Philippines; the Jombang programme for out-of-school youth in Indonesia; Kenya's Village Polytechnics; the Young Farmers Clubs in Dahomey; and the new Youth Community Training Centre approach in Jamaica.

38. These programmes will be examined in greater detail in the later expanded version of this report. For now it will suffice to note certain important features and principles that are illustrated by one or more of them:

1. They are highly versatile and locally adaptable; the occupational skills they seek to develop -- both agricultural and non-agricultural -- have direct utility in the local economy; hence there is greater likelihood that their trainees will remain in the area and help to develop it.

2. They can be easily geared to on-going agricultural or other special development projects in the area and integrated with new ones as they appear.

3. Because they make extensive use of practicing local farmers and artisans as instructors, they reduce or obviate the need for expensive, full-time professionally trained instructors from the outside.

4. They emphasize learning by doing; skills are developed through actual application in real-life situations, often permitting the participants to earn while they learn, thereby providing additional motivation and realistic understanding of the economic realities associated with productive skills.

5. Direct community involvement gives these programmes a distinct local character, ensuring their fitness to locally perceived needs, tying them into the social and economic life of the community, and providing them with local support.

6. By utilizing local personnel, facilities, lands, and other resources, they keep the capital and operating costs low enough to permit a sizable clientele to be served.

7. By emphasizing group activities rather than competitive individual development and the earning of certificates, they encourage the formation by young people of cooperative local enterprises that strengthen the economic and social fabric of the entire community.

39. None of the programmes mentioned above has achieved anything like perfection in these respects, but the principles and strategies they exemplify are of profound importance in designing viable and effective occupational preparation programmes to fit large numbers of rural youth.

40. Of course, these principles are not self-enforcing and cannot be applied with equal success in all situations. Much depends on the calibre of local leadership, on the spirit and aspirations of the community, on the prevailing economic conditions and opportunities, and often on quite accidental factors. The same is true, however, of more standardized and centralized programmes initiated, supported, and controlled from outside individual communities. In the final analysis, no educational programme aimed at local improvement can succeed very well or for very long unless the leaders and people of the individual community are anxious to make it succeed and are willing to put forth the necessary effort.

Conclusions and Recommendations

41. Several basic conclusions and guidelines emerge from this review of occupationally oriented programmes for rural youth.

42. First, it cannot be stressed too often that training alone cannot create employment in the absence of other favorable conditions. The conditions are provided in part by nature but also by government policies regarding such matters as integrated rural development; agricultural research, inputs and markets; land and water distribution and utilization; the development of small industry and rural hub-towns; public works and the building of rural infrastructures; special support for small farmers and small entrepreneurs. Wherever feasible skill training programmes for rural youth should be designed as components of a broader integrated rural development effort in the area.

43. Second, even where such favorable conditions obtain, initial training in productive skills can often prove sterile unless accompanied or followed up by complementary support services such as credit, management training and advice, assistance in materials procurement and marketing, and additional periodic training.

44. Third, highly institutionalized, full-time vocational and agricultural training programmes -- whether formal or nonformal -- are generally too expensive, too urban-oriented and divorced from rural economic realities, and too out-of-step with the life-styles and daily obligations of rural boys and girls to be a feasible solution to their needs. Such programmes may well yield a sizable educational advantage to a small minority -- but they cannot reach

the majority in greatest need of help.

45. Fourth, much more attention should be given to possible ways of strengthening and upgrading indigenous training systems as a relatively inexpensive and practical means of expanding the supply of rural technological and entrepreneurial skills, both for traditional products and services and for newer, more modern ones. In this connection, existing facilities and staffs of full-time vocational, technical, and agricultural training schools and centres could in many instances make a valuable new contribution by providing technical training and related theoretical instruction for both craftsmen and their apprentices. This could be done through specially tailored, part-time courses conducted at such institutions, and through mobile training services suited to the convenience of the trainees.

46. Fifth, major new efforts are especially needed in the field of agricultural training, aimed at the great majority of rural boys and girls who will spend their lives in small-scale farming and whose productivity must improve steadily in order to enhance their own living conditions and to meet the expanding food requirements of their countries. Such training (in contrast to the common practice of many extension services) should not be narrowly confined to the dissemination of improved agricultural technologies but instead should cover a wide spectrum of skills and knowledge requisite to better farm management and improved rural family life. Since there are few if any good examples of truly effective efforts along these lines, this would appear to be an important field for new experiments in specific areas of a country, aimed at integrating

agricultural training for rural youth into a coherent general attack in the area.

47. We call attention especially to the serious neglect of girls in agricultural training programmes. As will be discussed in the next chapter, training for girls is typically confined to home economics and similar household skills, and totally ignores the important economic role of women in agriculture. Thus occupational training should be equally available to boys and girls.

48. Finally, we suggest that the following criteria be observed as fully as feasible in designing and expanding occupational education programmes for rural boys and girls:

-- Even if a local programme is part of a national programme, it should be as locally-based and tailored as possible, making maximum use of local facilities, personnel, and other resources, with competent guidance and essential support services from higher levels.

-- Local programmes should be as fully integrated as possible into the economic and social life of the community and with local development projects and plans. Insofar as possible, training in agriculture and other fields should be tied to useful productive activities that provide young people an opportunity to earn while they learn.

-- Whether through local clubs, societies, or cooperatives, rural young people should be encouraged and assisted to engage in joint productive enterprises of their own making and in useful community improvement services so as to give

them an authentic role and experience in development.

49. For analytical purposes, this chapter has treated "education for earning a living" separately from other kinds of learning that are no less essential to the enhancement of rural life -- in particular, education for the improvement of family and community life.

50. We turn to these matters in the next chapter, but it should be understood that it is usually feasible and often desirable to combine them with occupational elements within the same basic programme framework.

CHAPTER 4

EDUCATION TO IMPROVE FAMILY AND COMMUNITY LIFE

1. Having discussed in previous chapters two clusters of essential learning needs of rural children and youth relating to general education and occupational education, we turn now to examining two other closely related clusters concerning preparation for family responsibilities and community participation. We will consider these in the wider context of what is required to improve the quality of rural life; and in particular to improve the welfare of infants and children through improvements in their environment and in the knowledge and practices of their elders.

Requisites for Improving the Quality of Rural Life

2. The ultimate goal of rural development -- if one accepts the comprehensive and integrated view suggested in Chapter 1 -- is to improve the quality of rural life in all its dimensions and for all rural people. But what is meant by the quality of rural life? What are its main dimensions? What does it take to enrich them, and how can education help?

3. Without pretending to answer these questions fully or to everyone's satisfaction, we submit that the following are among the basic requisites for improving the quality of life -- for individuals, the family, and the community -- in rural areas.

. Improving the welfare of infants and children, including their physical, psychological, and social development, by such measures as improved pre-natal and post-natal care, nutrition, health protection, and by various forms of entertainment, recreation, and social activities appropriate to their age.

. Improving the physical and mental health and household amenities of entire families, through, for example, improved sanitation, nutrition, health care, advances in family planning, and home improvements.

. Improving family resources and their management -- for example, by adopting spare-time productive activities such as cottage industry work and side-line crops; conserving land; constructing and maintaining farm equipment and facilities; better handling of credit, debts, and savings; improved family budgeting and better informed buying; balancing family size and resources.

. Improving basic community facilities through community action, such as constructing or improving community water supplies, roads and drains, schools, community centres, recreation areas and so forth.

. Strengthening the institutions, processes, and leadership base for local self-government, self-help, and political expression -- for example, by establishing or strengthening local councils, youth and women's organizations, cooperatives or similar societies (including self-run organizations through which small subsistence farmers and landless laborers can collaborate and be given a voice) and by leadership training in various fields.

. Improving community cultural, educational, and recreational activities, including sports and social activities for young people; multi-purpose community reading and learning centres; creation of local newspapers and bulletins; restoration of traditional art forms, entertainment, and ceremonies; marketplace film showings and demonstrations; organized visits to interesting places.

. Improving social and economic justice and mobility within the community, including improvement in the roles and status of girls and women -- for example, by broadening learning opportunities of many kinds for girls and women and other neglected sub-groups; expanding and diversifying the leadership structure of the community; creating special organizations and activities for girls and women; standardizing and recording land titles and contracts; and improving the system of local law enforcement and justice.

Some Governing Principles

4. This is admittedly a long and complicated though only partial list of requisites for improving the quality of rural life, yet it is no more complicated than the reality itself. Examining this list in light of the evidence in ICED's case studies leads us to the following propositions.

5. First, boosting agricultural production and income in a rural area -- as important and desirable as this is -- does not in itself guarantee improvement in the quality of life for the great majority of residents of the area. This was brought out clearly, for example, by the early experience of the Gezira Project in the Sudan, which succeeded in improving the cash incomes of local farmers but not the local social services and family amenities.[1]

6. Second, improvements in the quality of life in poor rural areas cannot await major strides in economic growth -- though development theorists and planners, who distinguish sharply between economic and social development, often assume that they can. Rural people living in conditions of extreme poverty, illness, and malnutrition cannot be expected to raise their productivity until and unless these conditions are sufficiently improved to give them greater stamina, morale, and hope. Thus, minimum improvement in the

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[1] Coombs and Ahmed, Attacking Rural Poverty, Chapter 7.

quality of rural life is often a precondition for economic development -- not simply a consequence.

7. Third, most of the actions required to improve the quality of rural life are highly labor-intensive and can be accomplished in considerable measure by local efforts, with relatively modest capital investments, physical supplies, and financial aid from outside sources. Thus, the keys to success are the creation of a political and social climate conducive to stimulating and encouraging such local efforts, and the coordinated provision of essential supplies and technical assistance from outside the community.

8. Fourth, almost all the measures listed above require new kinds of knowledge and skills and changes in behavior among rural families and various subgroups in the community. These must be provided, of course, in conjunction with noneducational inputs and actions to further improvement in rural life. The main function of organized educational programmes -- both formal and nonformal -- should be to help infuse these new types of knowledge, skills, and behavior patterns into the informal learning environment so that they become an integral part of the normal way of life of each family and the community. Thus, these organized educational activities should be seen as vehicles of innovation in a progressively changing situation requiring steady advances in content to keep pace with the moving frontiers of local learning needs.

9. Fifth, while the needs of infants and young children for wholesome physical, psychological, and social development are fundamentally the same in transitional rural societies as in industrialized societies, it does not follow that the best ways of meeting them are the same. It is important to avoid the simplistic assumption that the kinds of institutions long established in developed countries -- nurseries and kindergardens for pre-school youngsters, for example -- are the right answer. The very different family structures, social arrangements, and community environments in these rural societies are likely to call for quite different solutions.

10. Sixth, an unplanned, piecemeal approach, with each sponsoring agency separately promoting its own particular specialized objective on the assumption that it is the touchstone to rural improvement, is almost certain to waste scarce resources and yield disappointing results. A more comprehensive and integrated approach is essential.

An Assessment of Existing Programmes

11. The above list of requisites and governing principles provides a useful framework in which to examine and assess the existing pattern of programmes in this category in various countries.

12. ICED's country case studies in Kenya, Mali, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Brazil, and Jamaica, and information drawn from other sources, revealed an impressive number and variety of nonformal

educational activities directed at one or more of the objectives listed earlier. Even though many of them are likely to be relatively small and limited in their impact, they nevertheless constitute important building blocks for the future.

13. To take the single example of Kenya, even our incomplete inventory revealed 17 different educationally significant programmes in this general category, most of them with multiple local units. They included, for example, health instruction by the Red Cross and Ministry of Health; women's courses on home-making and child care given in the context of community development programmes -- both publicly and privately supported; similar courses sponsored by the national women's movement (Maendeleo ya Wanawake); family-centered courses for girls and women (sometimes also men) at Farmer Training Centres, multi-purpose rural centres, and at the Better Living Institute (jointly sponsored by the ministries of Agriculture and Health); family- and community-related educational content in the programmes of various youth clubs and organizations (e.g., Young Farmers and 4-K Clubs, Girl Guides, Boy Scouts, YMCA and YWCA, Youth Centres and Village Polytechnics); and an embryonic FAO-assisted Programme for Better Family Living designed to provide a broad integrated approach to family life improvement, including planned parenthood.

14. Many such programmes in Kenya and elsewhere, are not thought of as educational programmes. They wear such labels as social

welfare, community development, women's programmes, and youth activities. Yet one of their central aims is to induce behavior changes and self-improvement through new knowledge and skills and educative experiences.

15. Though it is impossible to fit this wide assortment of activities into any meaningful classification system, it is useful to note the following major variables and basic differences of approach that differentiate them.

1) Variations in type and breadth of subject matter. Many programmes are limited to a relatively narrow field and set of objectives, whereas other programmes cover a much wider spectrum. Narrow compartmentalization is frequently found, for example, in extension-type services sponsored by specialized government agencies. These services focus separately on closely connected aspects of family life (e.g., sanitation, disease prevention, nutrition, first aid, birth control, and home economics). Thus the same rural family must often learn about these matters from several different sources and integrate them for themselves. At the other extreme, all of these and additional matters are sometimes dealt with in an integrated manner in the context of community-based self-help programmes or multi-purpose training centres or in general programmes sponsored by women's movements. The narrowly focused programmes (for example in planned

parenthood) are generally more costly and less effective than the multi-purpose ones, though they nevertheless tend to predominate.

2) Variations in target audiences. The majority of programmes are aimed at particular subgroups according to age, sex, of special roles. Hence there are male and female youth programmes, women's programmes, and more specialized training programmes, for example, for youth leaders, midwives, herbalists and healers, local government officials, and other types of community leaders. Some youth programmes (e.g., 4-H Clubs and Scouts) are often largely confined to school goers; relatively few cater primarily to out-of-school boys and girls. In contrast to these categorical programmes, some exceptional ones serve all members of the family -- for example, through multipurpose local "learning centres."

There is often sound justification for directing a programme at a particular subgroup when their characteristics, needs, and roles are differentiated and require special treatment (sports programmes are especially appropriate for children and youth, pre-natal care programmes for expectant mothers). But segregation by age or sex or on other grounds is generally undesirable when the same programme content is of common interest and value to the whole family or community. (We will return to this point later with regard to "women's programmes.")

3) Variations in pedagogical methods. Many programmes -- for example, in child care, home economics, community leadership training, and nutrition -- attempt to get their message across through "courses" employing the conventional classroom lecture method, divorcing "theory" from actual application, demonstration, and practice. Others tie learning into practical activities -- such as teaching the value of proteins as an adjunct to action projects on chicken-raising and kitchen-gardens, or demonstrating good infant-care practices to mothers when they bring their infants to the local clinic for an examination. Such programmes may also take advantage of some special event in the community -- such as the installation of a new pure water pump or the opening of a new clinic or recreation area -- to teach related knowledge and skills. Needless to say, the activity method of learning-by-doing is generally far more effective than the abstract lecture method (though the latter is used most commonly).

4) Variations in responsiveness to changing needs. Programmes vary greatly in their adaptability and relevance to the local audience's current needs and readiness to learn new things. "Canned" programme content prepared by specialists at a higher echelon and applied uniformly to widely differing local communities can often misfire in any one community and leave the audience cold. Programme content tailored to the

expressed needs and desires of each locality is more difficult to manage but far more successful. Some programmes recycle the same content again and again -- much as a primary school repeats its curriculum for each new batch of students -- while others try to lead their clients on from one knowledge breakthrough to the next appropriate one. The latter approach, of course, makes learning a continuous cumulative, and more exciting process and undergirds a steady improvement in the quality of rural life. But this approach requires a sensitivity by programme managers to the evolving learning needs and desires of the learners, and continuous access to fresh and relevant knowledge, including new research where necessary, to meet these evolving needs.

16. Besides the above significant variations among the many programmes in this field, there are also important differences in basic approach. The bulk of programmes are characterized by one or another or some combination of the following main approaches:

1) The extension approach. Extension is essentially a "top-down" process, commonly used by specialized government agencies to get their particular "message" to the villagers -- on improved practices in agriculture, health, home economics, planned parenthood, nutrition, or some other subject.

2) The community-based approach. This approach is essentially a grass roots process in which local people themselves

play a major role in setting the educational agenda by identifying their own needs and priorities on a wide range of matters, and in helping to meet these needs through self-help efforts combined with selective help from the outside.

3) The club approach. The aim of this approach is to organize local groups -- especially of adolescent boys and girls, and women -- for social, recreational, and educational purposes, often in local units affiliated with national and international club movements. This "club approach" is widely promoted by voluntary organizations and is encouraged by government ministries of agriculture, youth and sports, and social welfare, and by youth and women's specialists in international agencies.

4) The training approach. This usually involves the use of "training centres" or special institutes -- either single- or multi-purpose -- to which rural people (often the leading farmers, women, and other community leaders) come for training in particular subjects and skills across the whole spectrum of family and community life. Training centres can be instrumentalities of either the extension approach or the community-based approach.

5) The mass media approach. Generally used as a component of the extension or community-based approach, or simply to

enrich the informal learning environment of rural areas, the mass media approach can exert far-reaching effects on the improvement of rural family and community life. Its success, however, depends on being well-programmed and tied in with local learning processes.

17. Since the strengths and shortcomings of these various approaches are discussed more fully in later chapters, we call attention here to the fact that each of them is found in greatest abundance and variety in this broad field of education for family and community improvement.

Accomplishments and Handicaps

18. We turn now to some evaluative questions about this conglomeration of programmes. How many people do they serve and how effective have they been? What keeps them from serving more and being more effective? What are their special potentialities and how can these be more fully exploited?

19. On the positive side, two points stand out clearly: First, the programmes in this field that ICED has examined demonstrate the feasibility of mobilizing extensive human expertise and energy as well as physical facilities, equipment, and supplies for these purposes, from local, national, and international sources, both public and private. If this were not the case, most of these programmes would not exist. But this impressive resource potential has as yet been only fractionally tapped. Second, many of these

programmes have unquestionably brought substantial benefits to the individuals, families, and communities they have served.

20. These two conclusions can be documented by innumerable examples from the case studies and other sources. The very fact that many of them have enjoyed continuing popularity is often the most convincing proof that, as seen by their intended clients, they are yielding significant benefits. If the intended clients find a nonformal education programme dull and irrelevant, they can quickly kill it simply by ignoring it.

21. On the negative side however, the total number of people and communities being served and helped by most of these programmes is trival compared to the total number needing such help. Government extension services -- in health, home economics, youth activities, and so forth -- are typically stretched so thin that they often fail even to reach the majority of rural communities -- especially the more remote ones -- and have only a superficial impact on the minority they do reach.

22. We must also add that the flow of benefits is usually strongly tilted in favor of the "haves" and against the "have-nots", which minimizes the effectiveness of such services in eradicating the worst of rural poverty and narrowing the social-economic gaps within rural areas. The old adage -- "to those who have shall be given" -- applies with heart-rending force and regularity in the whole field of rural development.

23. Voluntary organizations have produced an admirable record of "success cases" in this field -- some involving the most deprived rural families and areas -- and they have frequently blazed trails for governments to enlarge upon. But almost all such privately sponsored activities are mini-programmes, serving only a handful of youths or adults, and it is often doubtful whether even the best of these carefully cultivated plants can be reproduced on a mass scale without fatal degeneration.

24. Multi-faceted community-based programmes with genuine vitality and impact are few and far between -- though very exciting and encouraging where one finds them. The mass media have clearly proved their great educational potential in some places, but almost everywhere this potential is still being grossly underutilized -- even where the practical capacity already exists.

25. The above negative comments are not intended to ignore or disparage the many creditable and highly useful efforts that have been made both by governments and voluntary organizations in virtually every developing country, nor do they reflect a discouraging assessment of the future possibilities. They are simply intended to underscore the vastness of the job still to be done, and the handicaps that must be overcome to get it done.

26. Our analysis highlights six of these obstacles in particular. The first major handicap has been the low priority accorded to these

kinds of activities by national development planners and decision-makers -- reflecting the premise that urban development must be the mainspring of rural development and that "economic development' must precede "social development." A related basic cause has been the political voicelessness of most rural people -- their lack of realization of their own inherent power to seek justice and improvement in their own lives, and their lack of organizations through which to express themselves and help themselves.

27. The second handicap is that these particular kinds of innovations in family and community life -- in contrast, say, to the introduction of modern primary schools or of profitable new agricultural technologies -- strike at the most sensitive, personal, and deeply rooted beliefs, mores, and human relationships of rural societies. Major changes, for example, in traditional diets, health, and sanitary practices, and methods of birth control, pre-natal and post-natal care of infants, do not come about easily in any society. Hence these programmes often encounter strong psychological, social, and political resistance.

28. The third cause of weakness has been the widespread practice of shaping extension and other educational services to fit the specialized functions, competence, and enthusiasms of existing government bureaucracies and private organizations rather than to fit a realistic, cohesive, and dynamic concept of rural family and community life. This specialized piecemeal approach, coupled with the often fierce determination of bureaucracies to act independently,

has seriously reduced the effectiveness of both their separate and collective efforts and often squandered scarce resources.

29. A fourth handicap has been the weakness -- often the utter lack -- of effective backstopping services for local-level programmes, to provide them with, for example, fresh flows of information and materials consonant with their changing needs, pre-service orientation and in-service training of professional and volunteer staff, and local diagnostic, operations research, and evaluation services. Most local programmes suffer seriously from being virtually isolated from outside stimulation, encouragement, and practical help.

30. Fifth, there has been a widespread failure to understand and to utilize more effectively the indigenous institutions, personnel, and processes that have been the traditional vehicles for innovation in rural societies. Instead, outside specialists have generally had a strong impulse (as in formal education) to reproduce identical or only slightly modified versions of educational models and methods from industrialized countries that often turn out to be misfits -- rather than creating home-grown solutions that fit the special local needs and conditions.

31. Finally, there has been a tendency to create programmes whose survival and success hinge on the presence of <u>outside</u> experts, extension workers, and organizations -- programmes based on the premise that "ignorant rural folk" know less about their needs and aspirations than do outside experts and have little capacity themselves for meeting these needs. These "outsiders" programmes foster

greater dependence rather than self-reliance on the part of rural people and actually discourage the unleashing of local initiatives, energy, and resources.

32. Again, if space permitted, we could cite chapter and verse from many different countries and programmes to substantiate the above observations. And we could also cite some cases that illustrate the favorable results that can flow from taking an opposite tack in all these respects.

33. There is encouraging evidence that increasing progress is being made toward overcoming the above obstacles and handicaps. More and more general development planners, for example, mostly economists by training, are abandoning the mischievous notions that economic development means simply overall economic growth, that economic and social development are separate categories, with economic development always taking precedence. Similarly, more and more specialists and specialized agencies are abandoning their former allegiance to a narrow conception of rural development and to a particular educational model and approach, in favor of a broader vision in which their particular specialty and activity is seen as an integral part of a larger whole.

34. Most important, the conviction is spreading that educational programmes fail when rural people are treated as passive recipients of "superior wisdom" from the outside or as children who need to be told what is good for them. This patronizing, authoritarian view

is progressively giving way to the more enlightened and viable view that rural people -- however humble and harsh their circumstances -- are also human beings quite capable of thinking for themselves, and that while they can benefit greatly from the right kinds of outside advice, knowledge, and other help, they themselves must be the primary change agents in improving the quality of their life.

Special Potentialities

35. It is important for national development strategists to recognize that educational programmes aimed at improving family and community life have special advantages over most other types of educational efforts for making a broad-scale attack on two large and intractable problems: improving the position and prospects of girls and women, and bringing new hope to rural areas of low economic potential. We call attention also to three particular potentialities for strengthening efforts in this general area: through the schools, through voluntary organizations, and through local youth groups.

Improving the Welfare of Girls and Women

36. The popular belief that girls and women have historically had an inferior status in most traditional rural societies, and that "modernization" will steadily improve their lot, is being challenged by a mounting body of practical experience. To be sure, traditional societies defined different roles for males and females, but the women's roles were no less vital than the men's roles, nor necessarily

regarded as "inferior."

37. The more important point, however, is that "modernization" does not automatically improve the status and welfare of girls and women. On the contrary, some forms of modernization are putting a further distance between the sexes and worsening the status of girls and women. For example, the introduction of the "modern" school and of literacy in traditional societies has generally given boys a new and sizable advantage over girls. Children away at school have heaped more work at home on their mothers. The introduction of modern technologies, leading to a more specialized division of labor in transitional societies, has generally favored males with the more modern, higher paying jobs, leaving women to concentrate on more menial tasks. The standardizing and recording of land titles, usually in the husband's name, has left many women landless and insecure. The conventional emphasis of agricultural extension services on male farmers and on commercial crops has often put money in the pockets of the men and left the women to produce food for family consumption by antiquated methods as well as to labour in cash crop production. Dr. Esther Boserup, a student of the role and status of women in transitional societies, has observed that we should not exaggerate the indigenous inferiority of women but rather stress the forms of modernization which often depress the female status.[2]

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[2] Ester Boserup, Woman's Role in Economic Development (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1970).

38. Infants and children can also be victimized by modernization. When milk becomes a cash crop (as it did in the CADU Project in Ethiopia), children in the family are likely to get less to drink. When profitable new high-yielding varieties take land from nutritious family crops (as happened in the Punjab in Pakistan), a depleted diet can do irreparable damage to young children.

39. These considerations are important in the present context because nonformal education programmes tied to family and community life can help to counter such adverse impacts of development on women and children -- or they can inadvertently exacerbate them.

40. In contrast to other realms of education where the cards are generally stacked against girls and women (as in formal schooling and occupational training), this area is heavily dotted with "women's programmes." Though this helps compensate for their neglect elsewhere, it also raises some problems and warnings. Most of these "women's programmes" tacitly assume that the role of girls and women in developing rural societies is largely in the home, whereas in fact they also have important economic roles as well -- in agricultural production and marketing, shop-keeping, maintaining accounts, and other such activities. The further tacit assumption is that women are the main decision-makers regarding family innovations in diet, health practices, home improvements, birth control, and so forth -- whereas in fact the men usually carry a heavy veto power in these sensitive matters.

41. There is danger, therefore, both to the effectiveness of programmes and to the status of women, when the compartmentalization of educational services by sex is applied to family and community matters in which both sexes have an important role and voice. It can drive a wider wedge between men and women and lead to family altercations and deadlocks. Women need access to "men's programmes" (particularly programmes for agricultural improvement and for small entrepreneurs) and men need to be exposed to the content of "women's programmes" dealing with important household matters in which both sexes have an important role and stake.

42. The same dangers and principles apply to the segregation of programmes between youths and adults, when the content is of common concern to both. Apart from reducing programme effectiveness, such segregation can amplify unwholesome generation gaps and distrust.

New Hope for Low Hope Areas

43. One of the perennial dilemmas confronting national leaders is how far to concentrate available resources on areas of greatest and most immediate development potential, and how meanwhile to make life more bearable and promising for the disadvantaged people in low potential areas. The kinds of family and community improvement programmes considered in this chapter have an unusual potential for brightening the lives of people in these "low hope" areas, by helping them to help themselves.

44. Educational measures, of course, cannot do the job alone; they must be accompanied by essential outside investments, for example, in local clinics, community centers, sports equipment, pure water supplies, materials for home improvement, and new inputs for nutritious consumption crops. But the magnitude of such investments is small by comparison with major capital projects and relative to the broad human benefits that can accrue from them. These low potential areas, to be sure, are often the most tradition-bound and least receptive to innovation. But this merely makes the challenge more difficult -- not impossible -- and is no excuse for bypassing them. Anything that can be done at reasonable cost to help people understand what they can do themselves, in cooperation with others, to improve the welfare and future of their children and the condition and spirit of the whole community should be counted an important forward stride in national development.

What Schools Can Do

45. Most of the essential educational tasks in field of family and community improvement lie beyond the customary curriculum and limited clientele of the primary schools and must therefore be dealt with by more flexible and wider-ranging nonformal and informal educational means. It would be an illusion to suppose that injecting new content on health, nutrition, family planning, community participation, and the like in the conventional primary school curriculum, on top of what is already there would go a long

distance toward meeting the community's learning needs in these respects. The schools in poor rural areas, as we have seen, generally serve only a small minority of children, and even these, at least in the first few years of schooling, do not yet have sufficient maturity to absorb some of the most essential knowledge and skills needed for improving family and community life. Moreover, their teachers are already over-burdened trying to perform their normal academic functions satisfactorily to take on any major additional duties. By secondary school the minority has become much smaller still, is even more intensively occupied with getting ready for academic examinations, and in all events will soon be heading for the city.

46. The schools, of course, can help considerably and many already are -- by teaching the rudiments of personal hygiene, sanitation, and nutrition, by making their pupils psychologically receptive to new ideas and innovative practices, and by inculcating the young with new thoughts on nationhood and the national role in the wider world. But so long as the schools remain basically urban-oriented and dominated by a highly academic examination system, they can make only a peripheral impact at best on the galaxy of family and community learning needs considered in this chapter. School teachers -- if properly trained for the purpose -- can certainly make an important contribution <u>outside</u> school hours by working on these matters with out-of-school teenagers and adults, but this is quite a separate matter.

47. Any rural school system, however, that would shift its primary commitment to preparing young people to lead more effective and satisfying lives in their rural areas -- as against preparing a small minority of them to escape to the city -- could have within a generation a profound influence on improving the quality of rural life in a variety of dimensions. This would obviously require a wholesale reorientation and transformation of the curriculum and of the teachers, the tying together of in-school and out-of-school activities, making the school an integral part of the community, and cutting the Gordian tie between chronological age and schooling so that types of learning that required greater maturity could be provided for at an appropriate age. Such a transformation would take considerable time to prepare and to execute well, but this is all the more reason for making an early start. It would also require inspiring, persuasive, and determined leadership, inside and outside the educational system, to develop and sustain the necessary popular and professional support. Necessary technical expertise for rewriting the curriculum and revising teacher training would also be important -- though probably the least difficult requirement to satisfy. Convincing the rural population and the educational establishment of the desirability of it all would undoubtedly be the most difficult.

48. Short of such a far-reaching transformation of the schools, it would be helpful if certain local organizations -- particularly volunteer ones -- collaborated with the schools by taking on the

task of orienting and instructing more mature pupils -- roughly from 12 or 14 years of age and above -- in the general skills and knowledge of family living and community participation, at the same time inducting them into the world of voluntary and cooperative action. To the best of our knowledge, there has been little such collaboration between voluntary community organizations and the schools -- except in the case of young farmers clubs and scout organizations, which are exclusively youth groups and not general community organizations.

Making Fuller Use of Voluntary Organizations

49. Voluntary organizations, as indicated earlier, have been especially active in this general field in many developing countries and have done much useful work. Many of them could do considerably more and would like to, at least in those countries where the government finds such socially oriented organizations politically and ideologically acceptable.

50. For this, however, they would require more financial resources, not only from their usual private sources but from governments themselves and from international funding agencies. It is becoming increasingly common for national and local governments to channel modest matching funds through voluntary organizations that are doing good work. The not unreasonable premise for this course is that such public funds will go further in this manner and that there are some tasks that motivated and properly-oriented voluntary

organizations can undertake better than government, because of their greater flexibility, freedom to innovate, and their disassociation from unpopular regulatory, taxing, and police powers.

51. It would appear, however, that government officials have been reluctant to encourage inter-governmental organizations and bilateral assistance agencies to augment the financial resources of selected voluntary agencies within their borders -- perhaps because they understandably fear a diversion of scarce external resources from government-sponsored programmes. Whatever the reason, it would seem desirable to achieve greater flexibility in this regard, perhaps within certain agreed criteria and financial ceilings, so that international and bilateral agencies could also give greater encouragement to voluntary movements in those countries where they are especially welcome.

A Larger Role for Youth

52. In the previous chapter we suggested the desirability of a closer linkage between occupational training for young people and their direct participation in the economic life of the community. By the same token, it would seem highly desirable -- both educationally and on other grounds -- for groups of young people, including those not attending school, to participate directly and importantly in the improvement of family and community life. This is already being done in some places, at least on a limited scale.

In Mali, for example, an indigenous youth organization perform useful social services for the community as well as engaging in social, recreational, and educational activities for its own members.

53. There are any number of ways for self-governed and self-disciplining local organizations of teenage and older boys and girls with time to spare to help out in development. They could, for example, run an activity programme for pre-school-age children or early school drop-outs. They could take on specific community improvement projects affecting health and sanitation; set up model kitchen gardens and demonstration poultry-raising projects; serve as volunteer aides in the local clinic, in various extension services, or in the local training centre or cooperative. Such local youth groups could be constantly reinvigorated if they could maintain close liaison through their own chosen representatives with a youth activities advisor and various other specialists at the nearest multi-purpose development and training centre. There they could have access to new ideas and knowledge and get needed technical assistance and material help.

Conclusions and Recommendations

54. Our conclusions regarding the cluster of educational and related measures centering on the improvement of rural and family life can be summed up briefly.

55. First, these kinds of activities are clearly crucial to improving the well-being and life prospects of rural infants, children, and youth -- and of their entire families and communities. Properly designed and applied in concert, they have a powerful and unique potential for helping children get off to a better start in life, for strengthening the role and welfare of girls and women in transitional societies and protecting them from the adverse side-effects of development, and for brightening the lives of children and adults imprisoned in poverty and hopelessness in areas of low economic potential. They are not a substitute for other categories of education or for economic development; they are complementary to them and in many situations requisite to their success.

56. Second, although many useful and often exciting programmes exist in this area, mostly on a very limited scale, taken as a whole, this category of critical needs and actions has been the most grossly under-valued and neglected of all the categories examined in this study (and they all, it should be said, have been seriously neglected).

57. Third, among the main causes of the neglect and limited effectiveness of programmes in this area have been: (a) the strong influence on national development strategies and priorities of the now discredited notion that "social development" must perforce remain on the back burner until "economic development" has been brought to a

full boil; (b) the extreme and wasteful fragmentation of effort that has resulted from piecemeal thinking and action by well-intentioned but narrow-visioned specialists and specialized agencies; and (c) the dominance of an educational approach that has placed too much emphasis on form and mechanics and not enough on substance and process, and that has overestimated the wisdom and power of outside expertise and underestimated the intelligence of rural people themselves and the primary role they must play in improving their own lives.

Finding a Unifying Concept

58. The notion of "improving the quality of rural life," if clearly defined in operational terms, is, we believe, a unifying central concept that can help overcome these major causes of weakness. The rudimentary attempt made to define this concept at the outset of this chapter should be seen as an invitation to planners and specialists in developing countries, and external agencies to try their own hand at such a definition. The object is to evolve a generally acceptable, broad, and unifying concept that transcends particular specialties and bureaucratic jurisdictions and puts each in clearer focus relative to the larger whole. Only through the development of a common intellectual perspective on their common purpose, can there be real hope of eroding the formidable bureaucratic and professional barriers that have long resisted a more rational and coherent approach to this field.

59. How best to organize such an inter-agency and cross-professional dialogue is, of course, something for each country to determine for

itself. In a later chapter we will suggest some possible options. In any event, this dialogue must obviously become a continuing one, not a one-shot affair, and ultimately must go on at all levels, right down to individual villages.

60. Further, it must be a well-informed dialogue, enlightened by much better information than is now available on what is actually going on in rural areas and in these kinds of activities. The perennial outpouring of statistics, annual reviews, project reports, and the like from national agencies and international organizations, unquestionably has many values, but one looks in vain in most such documents for any realistic picture of what is transpiring in rural areas or in the programmes existing in them.

Getting to Know the Realities

61. The first essential step toward enlightment, we suggest, is to make a quick and simple inventory of all existing organized programmes and projects bearing on improving one or another dimension of the quality of rural life. In a subsequent chapter we will suggest a checklist of key points to be covered by such an inventory.

62. Such an inventory will be most useful if made from two angles of vision: looking out from the national level at the whole country, and looking around and upward from the local level in a small cross-section sample of rural areas with differing conditions. The nationwide perspective will show the relative magnitude of the efforts aimed at different facets of the problem, any conspicuous gaps that especially require attention, and the existing programmes and momentum that constitute assets to build on in the future. But it

may reveal relatively little about how these programmes are actually performing at the local level and what impact they are having. This is the purpose of the local inventories that give a close-up view of how well these efforts are actually penetrating into different rural areas, how many people they are really serving, what sort of reception they are getting, and what discernible impact they appear to be having.

63. Well prepared teams of college and university students, backstopped by faculty members, could undertake some of these local inventories, benefitting not only the country but their own education, and perhaps also helping to reorient their institution toward a greater involvement in the development needs and processes of the nation.

64. An analysis of these inventories would be almost guaranteed to spark fruitful discussion and suggestions for improvement by the inter-agency and cross-professional group suggested earlier. Released in summary form, the results could also precipitate broad public discussion and help build support for increased efforts in this area. In the longer run they would also provide invaluable benchmarks against which to monitor progress.

Getting Better Insights Into Rural Life

65. If these initial inventories went well, the next useful step would be to deepen the insights of planners and programme specialists into the nature and processes of rural community life, the motivations and capabilities of rural people and important changes taking place in rural areas.[3]

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[3]The fact that many national officials and civil servants spent their childhood in a village before becoming urbanized is certainly helpful in giving them a sensitivity to rural conditions. Most would agree, however, that to avoid having to rely on stereotypes and dubious assumptions they require a more up-todate, systematic, and penetrating picture of rural life.

66. For this purpose we suggest a somewhat different type of dialogue -- one between rural sociologists, cultural anthropologists and other students of rural societies, and the operationally-minded policy makers, planners, and programme specialists. This mix of people from quite different intellectual worlds and backgrounds would see quite different things in the same situation. They have much to teach and do for one another that could benefit the rural people they are all interested in. Competent students of rural societies could help the operators see their objectives, clients, and problems in a fresh and broader light. Operators could point the scholars toward some high-yield research opportunities in their own backyard. They could be encouraged, for example, to investigate: (a) the indigenous processes and channels by which innovations are adopted in rural societies, and which could be used operationally to accelerate desirable innovations in the future; (b) ways in which certain development forces are worsening the status of rural girls and women, and what might be done to offset these adverse effects; (c) the various impacts -- good and bad -- of changing rural conditions on the welfare and behavior of infants, children, and teenagers, and how these impacts differ according to what social and economic sub-group they belong to; and (d) what questions should be asked in evaluating various types of rural programmes, and what types of indicators and evidence it might be feasible to obtain for answering them.

67. This would need to be a long-term process, one that external assistance agencies could do much to encourage and from which they could also benefit considerably. But there would be great advantage

in starting this dialogue soon, for there is already a considerable backlog of underutilized knowledge that could be quickly put to good use, illuminating some perplexing operational questions.

Finding New Modes of Cooperative Action

68. In all probability the inventory suggested earlier will highlight three previously mentioned basic causes of weakness that plague most rural education programs: (a) the heavy fragmentation of local-level educational programmes and services; (b) the inadequate backstopping of these local activities with staff training, research, and other important services; and (c) the lack of sufficient voice and participation by rural people themselves in the design and operation of such programmes.

69. Since some suggestions on how to tackle these root difficulties are contained in future chapters, we will only point out here that these problems are especially endemic to the kinds of activities considered in the present chapter, and that opportunities for overcoming them are particularly abundant and important in this area.

Major Experiments in Helping Low Hope Areas

70. Remote and low hope rural areas are usually at the end of the trail and are seldom served or even reached by many of the programmes being considered here. Yet, as noted, these are precisely the kinds of programmes that can have the greatest potential for helping them.

71. We make two suggestions in this connection. First, countries should consider classifying their different rural areas (as some have already done) according to the severity of their circumstances and

level of their prospects, and then give preferential treatment in family life improvement programmes to those in the lowest category, thereby virtually reversing the present order of priorities in many cases. Second, a consortium of international agencies, in concert with a few interested developing countries low on the economic scale, should select a limited number of low hope areas and mount a multi-pronged, integrated, and sustained research and development effort aimed at lifting the quality of life in these areas. The purpose of this project, in addition to helping the local people, would be to discover how best to make effective frontal attacks on pockets of extreme rural poverty, within cost limits that would be feasible to sustain on a much wider scale.

72. Several important issues and opportunities alluded to in this chapter -- such as the welfare and status of women, the use of voluntary organizations, the greater involvement of rural people in their own programmes, and a variety of organizational, planning and financial questions -- are dealt with at greater length in the next three chapters.

CHAPTER 5

PLANNING AND MANAGING INDIVIDUAL PROGRAMMES

[NOTE: The later expanded version of this draft chapter will draw on the abundance of evidence and will include many specific illustrations necessarily omitted from this initial draft.]

1. We shift our angle of vision in this and the next chapter to examine some major issues that cut across all the different essential learning needs and educational programmes reviewed in the previous three chapters. These issues involve the organization and management of nonformal education programmes; the choice of appropriate educational technologies; the provision of timely and relevant programme content and "software"; the recruitment, training, and efficient use of personnel; the tailoring of programmes to the needs of their clients and socioeconomic setting; the management of costs and mobilization of resources; the integration of individual programmes with complementary educational and other development activities in the same area, and the evaluation of such programmes.

2. Although the above issues are often dealt with separately as independent variables, they are in fact highly interdependent elements of any learning system; what happens to one has repercussions on all the others and on the whole system's performance. They all converge -- or should be seen as converging -- in the process of planning, evaluating, and managing any learning system; hence we shall view them in this wide-angle perspective in these chapters.

3. For convenience of exposition, this large subject is treated in two chapters; this one deals with the basic concepts and methods for planning and evaluating individual nonformal education programmes and with handling their major components. The following chapter examines broader issues involved in linking various educational programmes together and integrating them with developing strategies for particular areas and the country as a whole. Both chapters draw heavily on the findings of the case studies.

New Frontiers for Educational Planning

4. The planning and evaluation of nonformal education -- seen here as continuous processes, not as brief episodes, and as indispensable tools of management -- are still at a fairly primitive stage of development. Conventional educational planning is adapted mainly to planning formal education systems, and this mainly on a macro scale at the national level, not on the micro scale required for planning diverse and often disconnected nonformal programmes coming under multiple management and sponsorship. Moreover, as actually practiced, educational planning has been used mainly as a tool for expanding educational systems essentially in their old image, not as a versatile instrument for engineering basic changes and innovations of the kinds now urgently needed in both formal and nonformal education.

5. The notable advances in educational planning over the past decade -- used by a growing number of ministries of education -- unfortunately have only limited utility for planning nonformal education programmes. Nevertheless, some of the tools and basic

concepts used in planning formal education, such as cost analysis -- and particularly the planner's way of viewing any learning system as a system -- have important value and applications to nonformal programmes as well.

6. In the pages that follow, we suggest, on the basis of methods used in conducting ICED's case studies, practical ways by which individual countries might improve both the planning and the evaluation of nonformal education programmes.

The Critical Components of Learning Systems

7. ICED researchers found it useful -- indeed indispensable -- to view each nonformal education programme as a learning system (or sub-system), and to examine it through a wide-angle analytical lens that brought into focus all of the key components of the system, the dynamic relationships between them, and the vital interactions between the learning system, its clients, and its social and economic milieu. These components and relationships are graphically depicted in Figure 5.1, which focuses on an individual learning system itself, and Figure 5.2, which highlights the diverse environmental factors that influence the system's internal efficiency and external productivity (concepts to be discussed later).

8. The critical components of the system on which planning and evaluation should focus include:

1) Its objectives: both its immediate learning aims and the subsequent beneficial impact it is intended to have.

2) Its clientele: those it is intended to serve, directly

Figure 5.1: A Nonformal Learning System in Action

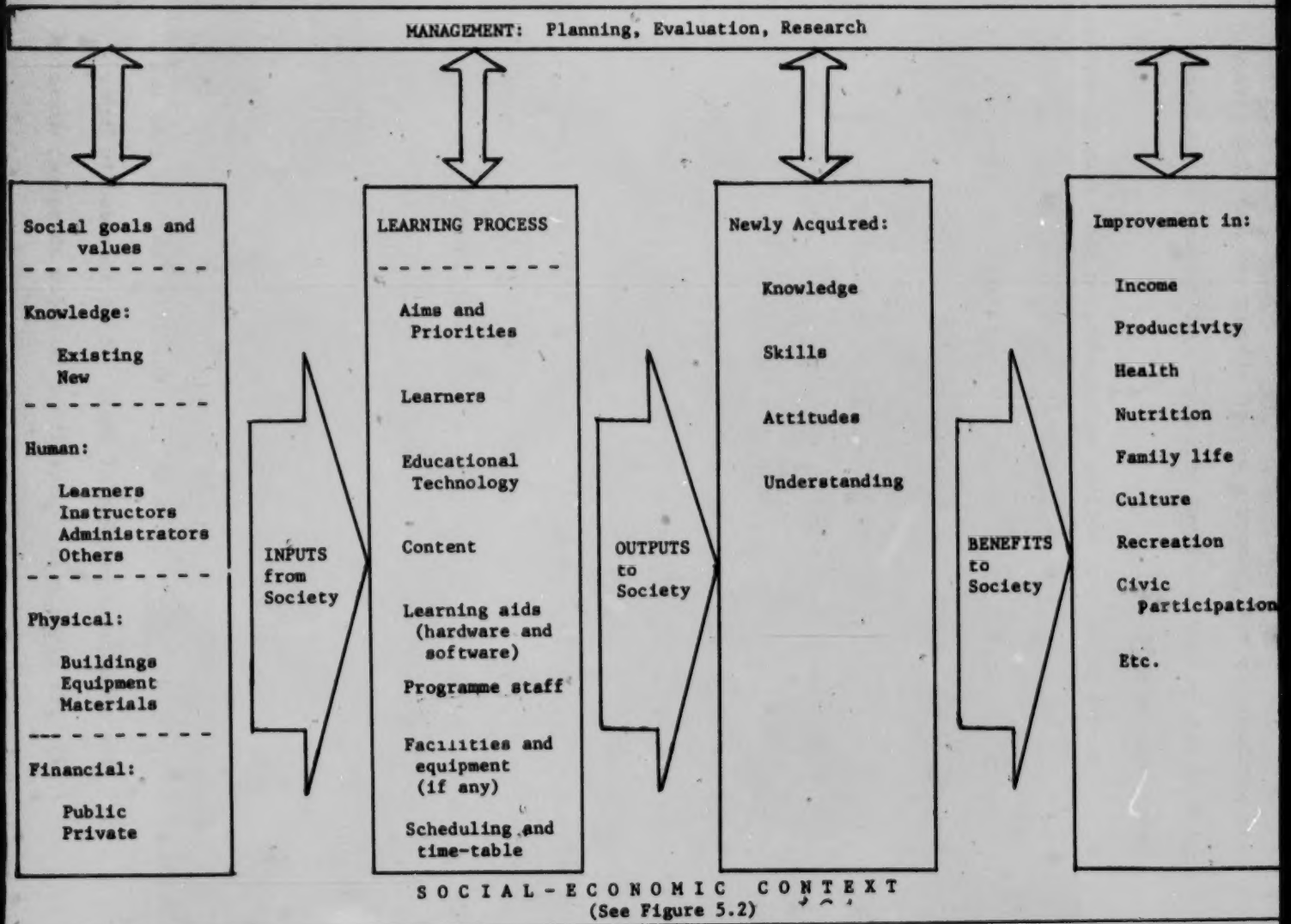
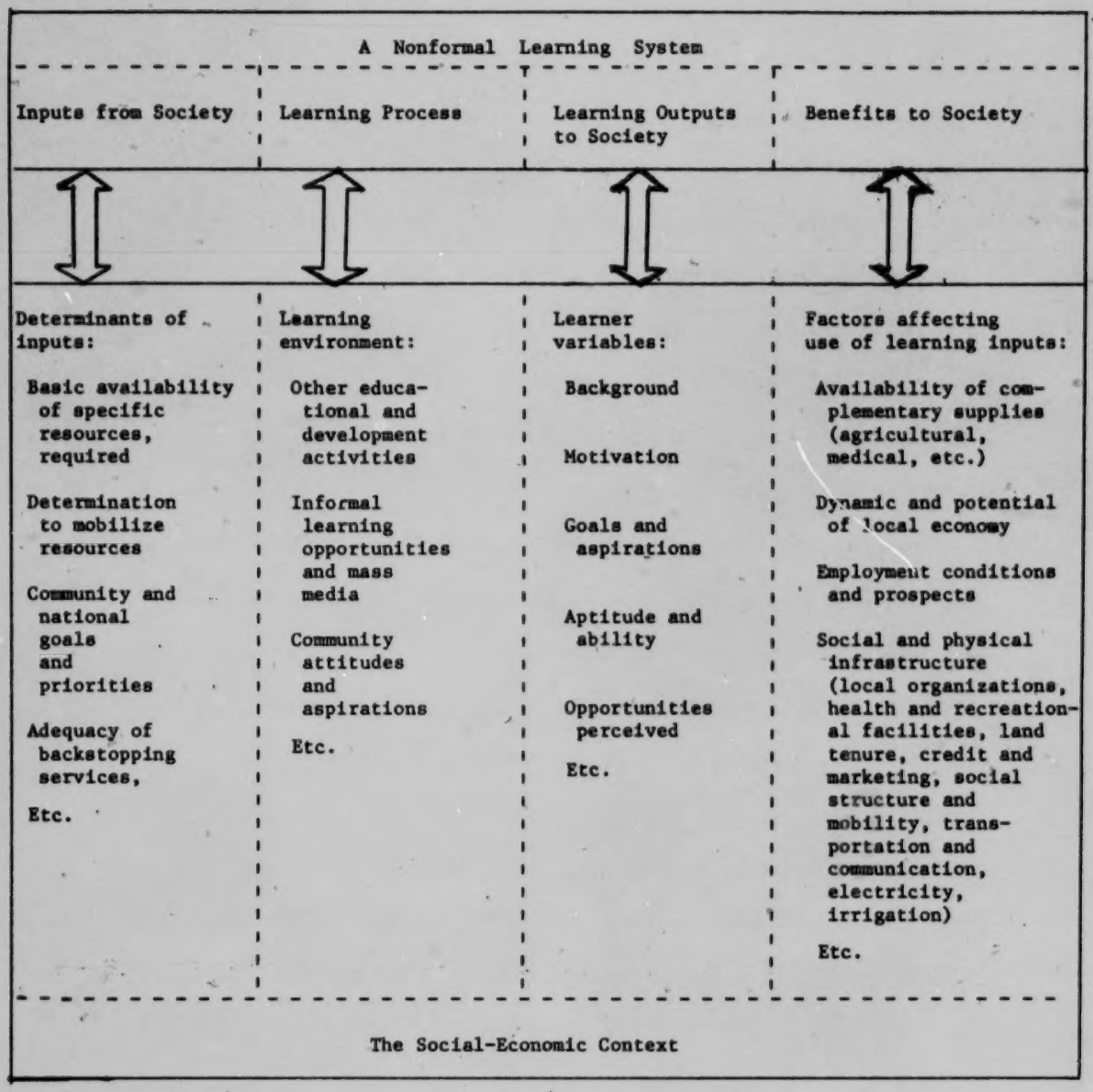


Figure 5.2: Interaction Between a Learning System and its Social-Economic Context


A Nonformal Learning System
Inputs from Society
Learning Process
Learning Outputs to Society
Benefits to Society
Determinants of inputs:
Basic availability of specific resources, required
Determination to mobilize resources
Community and national goals and priorities
Adequacy of backstopping services,
Etc.
Learning environment:
Other educational and development activities
Informal learning opportunities and mass media
Community attitudes and aspirations
Etc.
Learner variables:
Background
Motivation
Goals and aspirations
Aptitude and ability
Opportunities perceived
Etc.
Factors affecting use of learning inputs:
Availability of complementary supplies (agricultural, medical, etc.)
Dynamic and potential of local economy
Employment conditions and prospects
Social and physical infrastructure (local organizations, health and recreational facilities, land tenure, credit and marketing, social structure and mobility, transportation and communication, electricity, irrigation)
Etc.
The Social-Economic Context

and indirectly (e.g., infants via their mothers).

3) Its outputs: the actual "added learning" the participants carry away from the programme over and above what they brought to it.

4) The teaching-learning process employed to produce these outputs, including the educational technologies used; staff and supervisory personnel; the programme content; the "software," media, and methods by which it is transmitted; physical facilities, equipment, and devices used; the scheduling, frequency, and duration of learning activities -- in short, all the methods and elements involved in the inner workings of the system.

5) The resource inputs (costs) required to support the teaching-learning process and to produce the outputs, including: (a) human inputs (the learners, teachers, organizers, or other essential personnel); (b) knowledge inputs (from existing stockpiles or newly generated knowledge from research and experimentation); (c) physical inputs (e.g., facilities, equipment, supplies of various kinds); and (d) financial inputs needed to secure certain of the foregoing inputs.

6) The benefits: both private and social, noneconomic as well as economic, that accrue from the learning outputs.

7) The management provisions required to organize and plan the system, to orchestrate its parts, to keep it attuned to its socioeconomic environment and the changing needs of its learners, and to keep an eye on its performance.

Five Basic Planning Guides

9. It is useful to recall the following guides regarding these components, which were confirmed by our field studies and warrant emphasis here.

10. First, in designing any new programme, or in evaluating and replanning an existing one, the logical place to begin is with the learners, their needs, and their socioeconomic environment. In other words, before any rational decisions can be made about the best educational means to use, it is essential first to define the clientele and objectives to be served in clear operational terms. To do otherwise is to put the cart before the horse.

11. Second, there are always alternative ways of getting the job done, of serving a particular clientele and set of learning objectives. Some ways will usually be more suitable in the circumstances than others, but just which ones may not be clear until various alternatives are carefully considered. To assume in advance that there is only one good way can result in throwing away the unique inherent advantage of nonformal education -- its great versatility and adaptability, its freedom to be pragmatic and unconventional, to try whatever means work best in the circumstances. Merely copying some standard educational model from another place or clinging to some hallowed but inappropriate doctrine runs against the basic spirit of nonformal education and the basic logic of planning.

12. Third, it is essential to bear in mind that none of the components and relationships is "fixed"; each is subject to dynamic

changes over time. Only some of these changes are under the management's control, but it is important to exercise at least this measure of control with ingenuity. To treat any aspect of a learning system as fixed for all time or sacrosanct can produce crippling maladjustments between the system and its clients and society (as has happened on a dramatic scale in the case of formal education in many countries).

13. Fourth, it is imperative to give close attention from the outset (a) to how the various required inputs of the system will be provided (e.g., personnel and training services, flows of new and relevant knowledge embodied in appropariate "software," research and evaluation services); (b) to the costs of these inputs, expressed both as aggregates and in unit costs per learner; and (c) to both the short- and longer-term feasibility of meeting these input requirements and costs on a sufficient scale to serve a sizable fraction of the total potential clientele.

14. Finally, it is equally imperative to consider carefully in advance just how the learning outcomes of the system will be translated into actual benefits to the clients, their family, community, and nation. If, for example, the objective is literacy, will there be practical and important opportunities in this area to utilize newly acquired literacy skills? If the objective is to improve health and nutrition, will the necessary complementary facilities and supplies for putting the new learning to good use actually be available? If the objective is occupational training, will there be job openings in the area requiring the particular

skills taught, and will the other requisites -- such as credit, tools, raw materials, and a market for the particular products and services -- to enable the learners to use their skills productively also be available?

A Critique of Past Programme Planning

15. Using the analytical framework sketched above, ICED researchers endeavored -- with such documentary evidence, testimony, and indirect clues as were available -- to reconstruct how various nonformal programmes were initially planned and how they have since been replanned to adapt to evolving circumstances. They looked at not only the main case studies -- many of which were better planned than the average -- but also numerous others reviewed by ICED either through documentation or at first hand. The findings were so diverse that it is difficult to generalize, except to say that the large majority of programmes deviated greatly in many particulars from the concepts, principles, and sequential steps of planning outlined above.

Preconceived Solutions

16. One evident reason for these omissions and deviations is that most nonformal education programmes -- allowing for notable exceptions -- were endowed from the moment of their conception with a set of genes which thereafter circumscribed their main features and strongly influenced their behavior and effectiveness. In other words, the solution was in hand before the problem to be solved had been clearly defined.

17. These genes in many cases were provided by the sponsoring organization and mirrored its own special interests, organizational patterns and procedures, doctrines and preconceptions, and its commitment to particular educational forms and approaches. In a high proportion of the nonformal programmes established in the past 20 years, as distinct from older indigenous ones, one finds the distinguishing imprints of the former colonial power, or particular specialized internatical agencies and bilateral aid agencies, or various worldwide voluntary organizations.[1]

18. Other programmes inherited their genes from some individual or group with a burning enthusiasm for a particular educational technology (such as radio), or a particular educational approach (such as extension, or clubs, or cooperatives), or a particular important cause (such as planned parenthood, or child nutrition, or literacy). Often, it appears, enthusiasts of this sort with a particular commitment find it extremely difficult to take a broad-

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[1] A number of expatriate technical assistance experts have told us that they and their colleagues had more than once arrived in a new place with a ready-made solution, hoping to persuade local authorities of its worth, as a basis for getting external assistance to underwrite it. It was not that these visiting specialisits did not appreciate the importance of first looking at the situation and the potential learners and into various alternative solutions, but the terms of reference and brevity of their missions usually precluded this. Moreover, they knew from experience that any substantial deviation from existing prototypes ran great risk of slowing down the already lengthy clearance process and perhaps even of killing the "project proposal" they had helped draft.

gauged and dispassionate system-wide view of a new situation and programme.

19. The point to be emphasized is that, quite apart from the good intentions and technical competence of the original initiators, advisers, and sponsors of any programme, if they start with the premise that they already know what the needs are, what the environmental conditions are, and what specific kind of educational solution will best fit, they have already foreclosed most of the important options and left little scope for the kind of flexible on-the-spot planning described earlier. A surprisingly high proportion of the historical project documents we examined reflected this non-planning approach and revealed a singular vagueness about the objectives and clienteles to be served. Their main emphasis was on the preconceived machinery of the project.

Shortsighted Projections

20. In the majority of such cases there was also surprisingly little analysis of the longer-term cost and resource implications of the proposed project, in the absence of which its longer-term feasibility and viability could hardly be assessed. There was considerable attention to the immediate budgetary, personnel, and equipment requirements for the stated duration of the project (usually three to five years) and to how these would be shared between the receiving country and the assisting organization, but little if any projection of what might happen later on in the event the project "succeeded." A number of the countries we visited are now struggling

with the embarrassing question of what to do with several such well-intended "pilot projects" that turned out to be white elephants. Had the feasibility issue been sharply raised and examined beforehand, we suspect that some of these projects would never have been launched and better ways to spend the resources could have been found.

21. These comments are intended not as criticisms but to call attention to the fact that such approaches militated against the very kind of "sound planning" that developing countries have been so frequently exhorted by the same external agencies to practice.

22. The onus for any travesties of sound planning cannot, however, be placed only on external agencies and experts. Often the host countries were fully as much to blame for poorly conceived projects that went awry. Sometimes, for example, an enthusiastic minister, anxious to get some action, overrode the advice of his own technical officials who knew the country better than any outsider could. Sometimes the advice of experts on where best to locate a new project was disregarded for someone's political advantage, and projects became handicapped by being put in the wrong place. Not infrequently during the planning and negotiation stage, governments unwisely overcommitted themselves on the share of inputs they would provide, and later were unable or unwilling to hold up their end of the bargain. Again, the point is not to criticize, but to learn from these expensive mistakes so they do not have to be repeated -- at least not so often.

23. The picture is not without its bright spots and encouragement, for what we have described above happened in the past. As the

developing countries have strengthened their own supply of trained and competent manpower and their administrative services, and as they have learned from their own experience and that of others, they have acquired greater confidence and are taking a much firmer hand in doing their own planning and innovating, reducing their dependence on outsiders and their faith in prefabricated imported models.

24. Simultaneously the external agencies, better informed by their now considerable experience, are having second thoughts about many of the assumptions, doctrines, educational models, and practices they once took to be gospel. The stage now seems set for some broad advances both in the art of planning nonformal education programmes and in the modalities of external assistance — which is fast becoming less a matter of giving and receiving and more a matter of cooperation and partnership among equals.

Examples of Sound Planning

25. It should also be noted that among our selected cases there are some commendable examples of sound planning, especially in a number of home-grown programmes in whose creation local leaders and experts played the major role. To cite one impressive example, the founder of one of the first Village Polytechnics in Kenya, we learned, spent considerable time investigating a wide range of possible opportunities for local employment for young people and for starting new economic enterprises in the community, before he recommended using the Village Polytechnic approach and before deciding what types of skill-training it should offer.

26. Another good example is the multi-faceted Jombang youth programme. The idea for this programme grew out of a strong concern on the part of the Bupati (the district head) over the lack of educational, social, and career opportunities for young people and over the troubles this lack was leading them and the whole community into. A good deal of careful planning went into the new effort (and continues to go into it), starting with the formulation of a series of clear operational objectives and an inventory of existing resources, personnel, and specialized services in the district that could be mobilized and put behind these objectives.

27. The multi-faceted ACPO programme in Colombia, aimed at arousing campesinos of all ages and helping them to help themselves in a variety of ways, is a particularly good example of imaginative planning and cost-conscious management. The Brigade System in Botswana is another example of a well-conceived, home-grown and innovative programme. None of these cases, or others in this category, are perfect models of planning, but they all have many positive lessons to offer.

28. From this very general treatment of planning nonformal education programmes, we turn now to the handling of some of the key components of such programmes -- in particular the choice of educational technologies and ways to improve the substantive content and software, the meeting of personnel requirements, alternative modes of organization, the important matter of costs, and the much-neglected matter of evaluation.

The Crucial Choice of Educational Technologies[2]

29. In planning a new learning system (or redesigning an old one), whatever decisions are made regarding the educational technologies to be used will have a strong determining effect on virtually all other aspects of the system -- for example, on the types and proportions of different resource inputs required, on how the whole activity can best be organized, on how its costs will behave, and on how large an audience it can serve.

30. As Figure 5.3 shows, a wide variety of educational technologies -- instructional methods, devices, facilities, media, etc. -- were in use in the programmes reviewed by ICED. These selected programmes are not, however, necessarily typical; many have a considerably higher degree of unconventionality, innovativeness and versatility in their use of technologies than the general run of nonformal education programmes -- which tend to rely heavily on traditional face-to-face instruction and to make relatively little use of newer media, self-instructional materials, or of normal community activities as a living classroom. One finds few multi-media systems comparable to ACPO in Colombia, which uses virtually no capital facilities or professional instructors at the village level, relying instead on non-

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[2]Educational technology is defined very broadly here to include not only the various physical devices (hardware) and supplies used in a learning system but also the methods employed in using them and the manner in which the learning process is organized. Readers especially interested in technologies for nonformal education may find it useful to consult Chapter 10 of Attacking Rural Poverty, op. cit.

professional personnel at that level. ACPO concentrates its professional talent and capital equipment at higher echelons from whence they can serve a vast number of villages and campesinos. The Jombang Youth programme is similarly exceptional in its minimal use of professional instructors and in the way it has harnessed such a variety of already existing educational facilities, tools, methods, and personnel in the area to expand learning opportunities for youths. Cuba, China, Tanzania, and Upper Volta have also gone to unusual lengths in making the whole community a living classroom for young people rather than divorcing organized educational programmes from the community at large.

Face-to-face Instruction

31. Direct instruction of learners by an able and well-informed teacher, whether in a classroom, or a tutorial situation, or some other setting, is an ancient and honorable educational technology. It is still the ideal for many purposes, especially when combined with other media, sources, and modes of learning. But unfortunately, this mode of teaching in poor countries quickly runs up against severe manpower and cost bottlenecks. Notwithstanding this, the great majority of nonformal programmes in developing countries rely primarily if not exclusively on face-to-face instruction, in principle using expensive professionally trained instructors and in many instances emulating formal education's traditional classroom pattern and one-way didactic methods. Many extension services, operating outside of classrooms, similarly operate on the basis of face-to-face

instruction, making little use, for example,of the mass media to extend the reach of the tight supply of agricultural experts.

32. The following widely applicable propositions can be put forth on the basis of evidence gathered by this study:

1) Heavy reliance on full-time professionally trained personnel for local-level instruction has been a primary factor in sharply limiting the number of clients and the variety of learning objectives that many programmes have been able to serve. When cost bottlenecks and instructor shortages are encountered, the typical reaction is to spread the instructors too thin, thereby reducing the programme's quality and effectiveness.

2) Heavy and mounting instructor costs usually crowd out essential complementary components -- especially self-instructional materials and inservice training to refresh and renew the instructors -- thereby reducing their productivity and further diluting the impact of the programme.

3) The requirement that learners assemble at a particular place and regular time -- sometimes for full-time instruction over an extended period, or at inconvenient hours -- imposes unacceptable opportunity costs on many potential clients and rules them out of the programme.

4) The classroom setting and didactic teaching methods are often far less motivating and conducive to learning than more realistic settings and more dynamic pedagogical approaches -- such as learning-by-doing in actual practice situations or

through live demonstrations or active participation and discussion by the learners.

5) The face-to-face instruction method, used by itself, restricts the communication of knowledge to that already possessed by the instructor and limits the opportunity for learners and instructors alike to benefit from a constantly replenished stream of fresh knowledge and stimulation through other media.

33. To become convinced of these points one only has to look at the extreme scarcity of local teachers and various types of extension workers available to perform nonformal education functions in most rural areas of the developing world, and at the meagreness of their initial professional training and of subsequent opportunities for intellectual and spiritual renewal. The instructor shortage is even worse for nonformal than formal education (where it is generally very bad). According to FAO reports, for example, in 1966 Mali had only one agricultural extension worker for every 8,436 farm families, Uganda had one for every 11,458, and India one for every 828. Most developing countries have only a handful of women extension workers, and most of these are assigned to work with women on home economics, with insufficient emphasis on agriculture.

34. To be sure, these personnel shortages could be somewhat eased if a higher budgetary priority were given for these functions, but it would be an illusion to suppose that this could come even close to solving the problem. The nub of the truth is this: <u>In very poor countries, any rural education programme whose technology and</u>

effectiveness hinge on heavy inputs of full-time professionally-trained instructional personnel at the local level, will in all probability be unable to expand sufficiently to serve more than a small fraction of the total potential clientele requiring such services.

35. Thus, developing countries have no choice but to seek out educational technologies that can meet all sorts of learning needs effectively on a mass scale at low unit costs, by minimizing dependence on full-time professional instructors at the local level. Later we will offer a number of suggestions in this regard, but for now we will turn to the mass media, which offer part -- though not the whole — of a solution.

Potentialities and Limitations of the Mass Media

36. Various mass media -- including print materials, films and filmstrips, radio, and television -- have already been tried for rural educational purposes in the majority of developing countries, but almost always in a marginal, unsystematic, and fitful manner. They constitute, in our view, the most underutilized educational potential in all such countries, and they merit increased attention by educational programme planners and managers.[3]

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[3]We must qualify this statement with respect to television, notwithstanding its extraordinary and proven educational power. Largely for reasons of cost, television is simply impractical -- and likely to remain so for a considerable time — for most poor rural areas, other than those located within good signal distance of urban centres. It also presents serious logistical problems, especially those of repair and maintenance of local receivers — though most of these could be technically overcome at a cost. In theory, communication satellites might somewhat ameliorate this cost problem, but only at the expense of compounding other problems, particularly those of programming

(continued)

37. These media have the following advantages, provided they are properly programmed and well tied in with the whole learning process:

1) They can provide very large and widely dispersed audiences with a continuing flow of fresh and diversified knowledge, demonstrations, and stimulating ideas far beyond the capabilities of conventional technologies by themselves.

2) If they are properly integrated in a mutually reinforcing multi-media system (e.g., combining well-coordinated radio broadcasts and print materials with local study and action groups) their educational effectiveness can be further increased.

3) Most developing countries already have a sizable communications capacity -- including printing and broadcasting facilities, transistor receivers in the countryside, and potential programming talent -- which at present is only fractionally and inefficiently utilized for rural educational purposes.

4) If the programme content is sufficiently lively, relevant, and entertaining (education does not have to be sombre and dull) to win and hold a large rural audience, the unit cost per learner can be substantially lower than conventional

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and of utilizing the programmes effectively on the receiving end. This is not an argument against experimentation with these advanced technologies but rather a warning against expecting this sophisticated technology to work any early educational miracles.

technologies in relation to the learning results achieved.[4]

38. Standing by itself, however, this list of positive advantages of the mass media could be misleading; there are also some limitations to be noted.

1) A single mode of communication, such as radio, should not be considered a whole learning system by itself; to achieve its full potential it must usually be treated as but one important component of a learning system, tied in with complementary components including other media.

2) Radio and television broadcasts and films have the limitation of being transitory (though they can be stored and replayed), whereas the written word and printed picture provide a permanent record which the learner can later consult as often as desired. Their complementarity in these respects is a strong argument for using a multi-media system.

3) Learners cannot easily have a direct dialogue with cold print or a film or a broadcaster, as they can with an

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[4]The advantages of the mass media as seen by another observer of rural education are well summed up in the following quotation: "... the distance media -- radio, print, television and film -- can appeal to, can reach and teach people with little or no formal education living in remote and underdeveloped villages. They can reach and teach more people more quickly and more cheaply than the slowly expanding army of qualified face-to-face teachers in schools and farmers' institutes. They can enliven and strengthen the efforts of those teachers and extension agents wherever they are already at work." From Tony Dodds, Multi-media Approaches to Rural Education, International Extension College, Broadsheet on Distance Learning no. 1 (Cambridge, England, 1972), p. 42.

instructor in their midst. This point should not be exaggerated, however. Programmes combining radio and correspondence (as those in Kenya, for example), or using recorded interviews with listeners (as those in Senegal and numerous other countries) often provide the stimulation of a dialogue. Broadcasts to local discussion groups can also spark a lively dialogue within the group, even leading to community action (as did India's rural radio forum, for example).

4) The mass media run into serious limitations and cost problems with respect to those types of information and knowledge that need to be local-specific to be effective, and also when a diversity of language groups are involved. A uniform nationwide broadcast or booklet in such cases is bound to be ill-adapted to much of the audience. There are ways of reducing this problem, however, by using, for example, low-power, low-cost district and sub-district transmitters for handling more localized broadcasts, and by generating locally oriented learning materials and reproducing them by simple, inexpensive means.

5) Most important, any mass medium is only as effective as its message. To create good programme content requires talent and serious effort. Experience shows that the commonest failures of mass media used for education result from over-attention to the "hardware" and far too little to the "software." Dull and stereotyped teaching by radio or television can be more deadly than it is in an individual

classroom because its shortcomings are magnified and affect many more learners. A major advantage of broadcasting is that it permits a much larger investment in top quality content at low cost per learner -- provided there is a large audience. Unless this potential is exploited and high quality programmes go out on the air there is little point in using the mass media.

39. The above points for programme planners regarding the uses of mass media lead us straight into one of the most serious and ubiquitous problems of all -- the so-called software problem.

The Content or "Software" Problem

40. When a homespun New England philosopher was informed by an excited report that the first telegraph line had been connected between Maine and Texas -- more than 1,000 miles apart -- his reply was a question: "Does Maine have anything to say to Texas?" This is the key question to ask constantly about mass media, extension services, and even schools: do they have anything important to say to their audience, and can they say it interestingly, comprehensibly, and effectively?

41. Technology, even at best, is useless without relevant content and an abundance of good software. Content that was good to begin with but grows stale over time can be equally useless. When a learning system is succeeding, it generates a dynamic demand for more and more new things to learn, but if it fails to keep pace with this demand it soon stops succeeding.

42. In order to keep pace, local learning systems -- and those managing them -- must be renewed and refreshed by a steady stream of new knowledge from outside sources, and it must be knowledge that is responsive to current local needs and interests, embodied in attractive form for easy and effective communication to the local audience -- in their language, at their level, and fitting their learning style and convenience.

Reasons for the Lack of Appropriate Content

43. ICED's findings suggest that no single factor is more detrimental to the drawing power and effectiveness of the general run of nonformal education programmes than the lack of appropriate and timely content. The most common causes for this ailment appear to be the following.

44. First, there is the lack of a high enough priority and the allocation of insufficient resources for production of software. There is neither much political pressure nor glamour associated with high-quality software. As mentioned earlier, the tendency is to give the lion's share of available energies and resources to the mechanics and logistics of local programmes, to hardware, and above all to the costs of local instructional personnel. This is especially true when a programme first gets under way and the pressures mount to make a good showing mainly in terms of expanding the number of participants. There is a direct parallel here to what happens to formal schools under pressure to expand; the budget goes mainly toward increasing teaching personnel while other essentials — especially learning materials -- are badly

neglected, thus throwing the system out of kilter and lowering the productivity of both the teachers and the taught.

45. Second, many administrators lack an appreciation of how much time, talent, and ingenuity are actually required to create really good software -- whether for broadcasting, print and pictorial form, or otherwise; there is also a lack of appreciation for the necessity of renewing software frequently. Once the initial content becomes common knowledge in the community, it may be as obsolete as last week's newspaper. This subordination of software is linked to the widely held notion that professionally trained teachers, extension workers, or other instructional personnel already know -- and will continue to know -- most of what is worth teaching (an assumption that any good teacher or extension worker would be first to deny).

46. Third, there is no sensitive radar system for detecting changes in local learning needs, nor is there an efficient feedback system for relaying these signals (along with reactions to the existing programme content) upstream for active response; there is also the lack of adequate backstopping machinery upstream to do the responding.

47. Fourth, the cumbersomeness of large and rigid bureaucracies constricts their capacity to produce responsive research or creative, appealing, and easily understandable software. This problem is compounded when researchers and experts on a subject, talented writers and artists and other professional communicators, and operators of communications facilities -- all of whom should form

a smooth working team -- are scattered across different agencies of sub-divisions of agencies with no one in charge or full control of getting the job done.

Effective Approaches to the Software Problem

48. Several of ICED's case studies point to possible cures for these universal ailments. ACPO, for example, creates an impressive volume of good software. It is produced literally daily and weekly, and is sensitively keyed to the audience, region by region, by a sizable and able staff of writers, editors, and artists, supplemented as needed by other creative professionals, who pick the brains of experts in various government agencies and elsewhere on the current topics they are attempting to communicate. ACPO's content goes out in the form of national and regional broadcasts and weekly newspapers (ACPO runs Colombia's largest radio network and a weekly newspaper with the largest rural circulation), in textbooks and a series of popular readers, and in bulletins and other simple print forms.

49. ACPO, of course, has a large enough audience to warrant the economics of scale that come from having its own communications staff plus publishing, broadcasting, and record-pressing facilities. Moreover, it has the special flexibility that attaches to a private organization, and though it is a nonprofit agency it uses business-like methods for efficiency.

50. Smaller programmes are likely to need help from other organizations to get quality software produced -- possibly from the ministry of information, for example, or from a versatile private organization

competent to respond to a wide variety of software needs on special assignment. The Social Communications Center in the Philippines is such an organization.

51. Whether a programme can afford to produce its own software depends not only on its scale but on its breadth of focus and complexity. The functional literacy programme in Mali, as noted earlier, has done quite well on this score, and so has the literacy/family education programme in Thailand. In Tanzania the Cooperative Education Centre has done creditable work in the production of software for the correspondence courses and radio campaigns aimed at local cooperative societies. Similarly, the Kivukoni College and the Institute of Adult Education of the University of Dar-es-Salaam have created effective software for general nonformal education programmes. In Jamaica the new Resource Development Unit has among its assignments the production of good software for various youth and adult nonformal educational programmes.

52. Another potentially effective approach -- though we have not actually seen it used -- might be for a number of nonformal programmes to share a common multipurpose software generating centre which, if properly staffed and managed, might well meet their respective needs more economically and effectively.

Generating New and Relevant Knowledge

53. This still leaves open the question of where the fresh and relevant knowledge to be incorporated in the software is to come from. Some of it can be imported from other countries that have strong research facilities, but there is always risk of imported

knowledge being unsuited to the conditions of the importing country. Hence in such fields as health, nutrition, and agriculture, each country -- or a cluster of small neighboring countries -- requires its own adaptive research network to translate imported basic research results into locally usable forms.

54. At the moment, most developing countries are seriously handicapped by the lack of their own research facilities and networks and are much too dependent on knowledge drawn from distant places and different cultures. This is one area in which universities and other higher educational institutions could contribute more to national development by orienting their research activities more specifically toward priority local needs -- for example, in the health sciences, social services, agriculture, and other relevant fields.

Personnel Needs

55. As important as facilities, equipment, and the media often are, in the last analysis it is people who must plan and organize nonformal education programmes and make them function effectively -- all sorts of people, professionals and nonprofessionals, playing a variety of roles ranging from the local to the national level, working full-time or part-time, for pay or as volunteers.

56. In these respects nonformal education differs considerably from formal education, which is run almost entirely by a full-time professional and administrative corps, neatly categorized as teachers, trainers, administrators, supervisors or inspectors, and specialized support personnel, each fitting into a well-defined pigeonhole in a

uniform salary structure according to function, formal qualifications, and years of service.

57. On the whole, nonformal education's personnel functions are more mixed and the categories much less sharply defined. The "teacher" may be almost anyone who has something to teach and may also be the stimulator and administrator of the local programme. Or there may be no teacher in the conventional sense, but instead, a local nonprofessional volunteer who serves as organizer and animator of a local study group (as in the ACPO programme and in Tanzania's Cooperative Education programme at the village level), or a leading farmer who provides guidance to other farmers or leadership to a young farmers' group (as in the Republic of Korea), or a local women's leader who is conduit for important information and advice from the outside to pregnant mothers about pre- and post-natal care and birth control (as in Kenya), or a local craftsman giving skill training to his apprentices (as almost everywhere).

58. At higher echelons of a vertically integrated "knowledge delivery system" -- for example, an agricultural or health extension service directed from a central ministry -- backstopping functions, such as staff training, research, the preparation of software, broadcasts, and recommended practices for local audiences, are likely to be performed by professionals of one sort or another. Relatively few, however, are pedagogically trained and their instructional activities, if any, are generally part-time and quite incidental to their other functions.

Kinds of Personnel Needed

59. This mixed bag of personnel involved in nonformal education can be divided roughly into six groups:

1) Professionally trained career people working as instructors either at the local level (e.g., local extension workers, or schoolteachers working part-time in, say, a literacy programme), or in a staff training centre above the local level;

2) Professionally trained career personnel above the local level who generate knowledge or software for local use (such as researchers, writers, artists, subject experts, communications technicians);

3) Professionals, administrators, and civic leaders at and above the local level who serve as planners, organizers, and facilitators of local programmes and who identify local learning needs and arrange to bring potential learners together with expert sources of knowledge to help them meet these needs (for example, the district agricultural or health or social welfare officer, or an official of the local or subdistrict government, or the manager of a cooperative society or chairman of a women's movement);

4) Local practitioners with special skills who give part-time instruction to others in the community (e.g., local artisans and craftsmen, midwives, herbalists, model farmers, tradesmen);

5) Local volunteers or part-time paid personnel with high motivation, good organizing talents, and a somewhat better than average formal education (or its equivalent), who serve

as local organizers, animators, monitors, group discussion leaders, catalytic agents, communicators with outside sources of knowledge and inspiration -- but not really as "teachers";

6) Miscellaneous cadres associated with one or another organizations who can be deployed to educational purposes -- such as army personnel (China), or students (Iran and Ethiopia), and clerics (Buddhist priests in Laos and Thailand, Imams in Bangladesh, Coptic priests in Ethiopia).

60. On the basis of field visits and other evidence it is clear that virtually all developing countries, even the poorest, have a substantial supply of professional and nonprofessional personnel, including many able and well-motivated people at the village level, who, if effectively mobilized, trained, and oriented, continuously backstopped, and inspired by the importance of their task and the movement, could go a long distance toward meeting the important learning needs of rural populations -- especially the younger members -- through strengthened, enlarged, and better-integrated nonformal educational services. The big question is how to meet the prerequisites underscored in the previous sentence. We will elaborate on this in the next chapter.

Requisites for Personnel Development

61. Meanwhile, so far as the planning of individual nonformal education programmes are concerned, which is the particular concern of this chapter, the findings from our case studies suggest that special attention and emphasis with regard to personnel be given

to the following :

62. 1) Establishment of a set of incentives — both material and psychological -- that will attract able and enthusiastic people (both professionals and volunteers) into the programme, inspire their best efforts, and give them a true sense of accomplishment and reward. It is especially important, our findings indicate, that schoolteachers, extension workers, and other career professionals who are asked to take on overtime duties in nonformal education not be expected to do so at high sacrifice to themselves and their families. They should be paid as professionals and expected to perform as professionals (except as they choose, as citizens of the community, to devote spare time to important voluntary community activities such as working with youth organizations).

63. Similarly, local practitioners with needed skills who are called upon to instruct the young should also be treated as professionals and appropriately rewarded in relation to the impact this has in diverting them from their normal mode of earning a living.

64. Unpaid volunteers -- of which there is need for a great many -- should receive substantial "psychic income" not only from the satisfaction of rendering useful services to their fellow men but from an exhilorating sense of belonging to an important and exciting movement, and from appropriately expressed social and civic recognition.

65. 2) Improvement and enlargement of training for all levels and categories of personnel, not only initially but

continuously throughout their service. The aim of such training should be not only to improve the technical knowledge, skills, and general competence of all personnel but, equally important, to nurture in them a lively esprit de corps and sense of involvement in something bigger than themselves.

66. Such orientation, technical training, refreshment and human associations -- for both professional and volunteer staff — could take place in part through periodic short-term visits to stimulating residential centres where participants were not merely lectured to but exchanged experiences, asked their own questions, and underwent a practical and socially rewarding experience. In addition, special mass media programmes for local staff, plus occasional one-day semi-social meetings of staff members with common interests from neighboring communities, could make their intellectual and spiritual renewal a continuous process. All this would require more and special organizing efforts, but these would be far outweighed by increases in staff morale and productivity.

67. 3) Provisions for the more efficient and productive utilization of scarce professional manpower. This requires, for example, freeing career field workers from miscellaneous and low-priority clerical and administrative chores that divert them from their central duties; providing them with adequate transport to leave their offices and go into the field where the clients are; and posting them at strategic centres, in the company of other professionals with complementary interests, where they will be readily accessible to the "upward extension agents" from the villages

in quest of needed knowledge and related assistance for themselves and their neighbors.

68. 4) Defining specific and varied opportunities for local volunteers to make a useful, significant, and recognized contribution to enhancing education in their country.

The Task of Shaping the Organization to Fit the Purpose

69. In principle, organizational structures and procedures should be the servants of a programme's purposes and clientele. But when the organizational arrangements are determined before the clientele, objectives, and technology of the programme have even been defined (which we found to be the case in many instances) then organization becomes the master, not the servant, and may end up obstructing rather than facilitating the programme's purposes. This is not always the case, of course; sometimes premature freezing of organizational solutions work out fine -- but more by accident than design.

70. We shall be exploring organizational matters further in the next chapter, so we shall confine our comments here to pointing out the planning implications of some important structural differences among nonformal educational programmes, particularly among the following dominant types:

1) Autonomous locally situated programmes, such as the Diyagala Boys' Town and Yahapath Endera Farm in Sri Lanka, and the earlier Village Polytechnics in Kenya.
2) Vertically integrated nationwide "extension"-type programmes serving a multiplicity of local communities, such as agricultural or health or small industry extension services, or networks of youth or women's clubs affiliated with and served by a central national organization.
3) Multi-purpose community-based programmes, such as the Sarvodaya movement in Sri Lanka, the Jombang youth programme in Indonesia, and community development programmes in Kenya.

Autonomous Locally Situated Programmes

71. The simplest type of programme to plan, of course, is the autonomous locally situated programme, found in abundance in the voluntary organization sector of nonformal education. It is simplest because its geographic scope and clientele are limited, the facts needed for planning are mostly in one place, the organizational and personnel structure are comparatively uncomplicated, and the basic responsibilities for planning, decision-making, implementation, and evaluation are consolidated in a single management -- sometimes even a single person. Further, the latitude for

modifying plans and adopting operational innovations is usually much wider, and the bureaucratic constraints far fewer, than in a large programme run by a government department. On the other hand, the financial risks and uncertainties may be much more formidable for a small independent programme that lives from hand-to-mouth, depending largely on contributed funds and often on an unpaid or poorly paid staff.

72. All these considerations pertaining to autonomous locally situated programmes, however, do not alter the necessity for the same basic planning concepts and principles that apply to larger multi-tier programmes. It is just as important for example, that the objectives and content match the needs, interests, and life prospects of the participants; that ample provision is made to ensure an adequate flow of relevant new knowledge and other essential inputs from sources outside the programme; and that a watchful eye is kept on costs and potential future income.

Nationwide Vertically Integrated Programmes

73. Planning a vertically integrated nationwide programme with multiple local outlets is obviously a more complex affair. There are always such troublesome questions as: how are the responsibility and authority for planning, decision-making, and execution to be divided among the different levels; who is free to take what kinds of initiatives; who is accountable to whom and in what terms; where should evaluation of the system be centred, who should do it

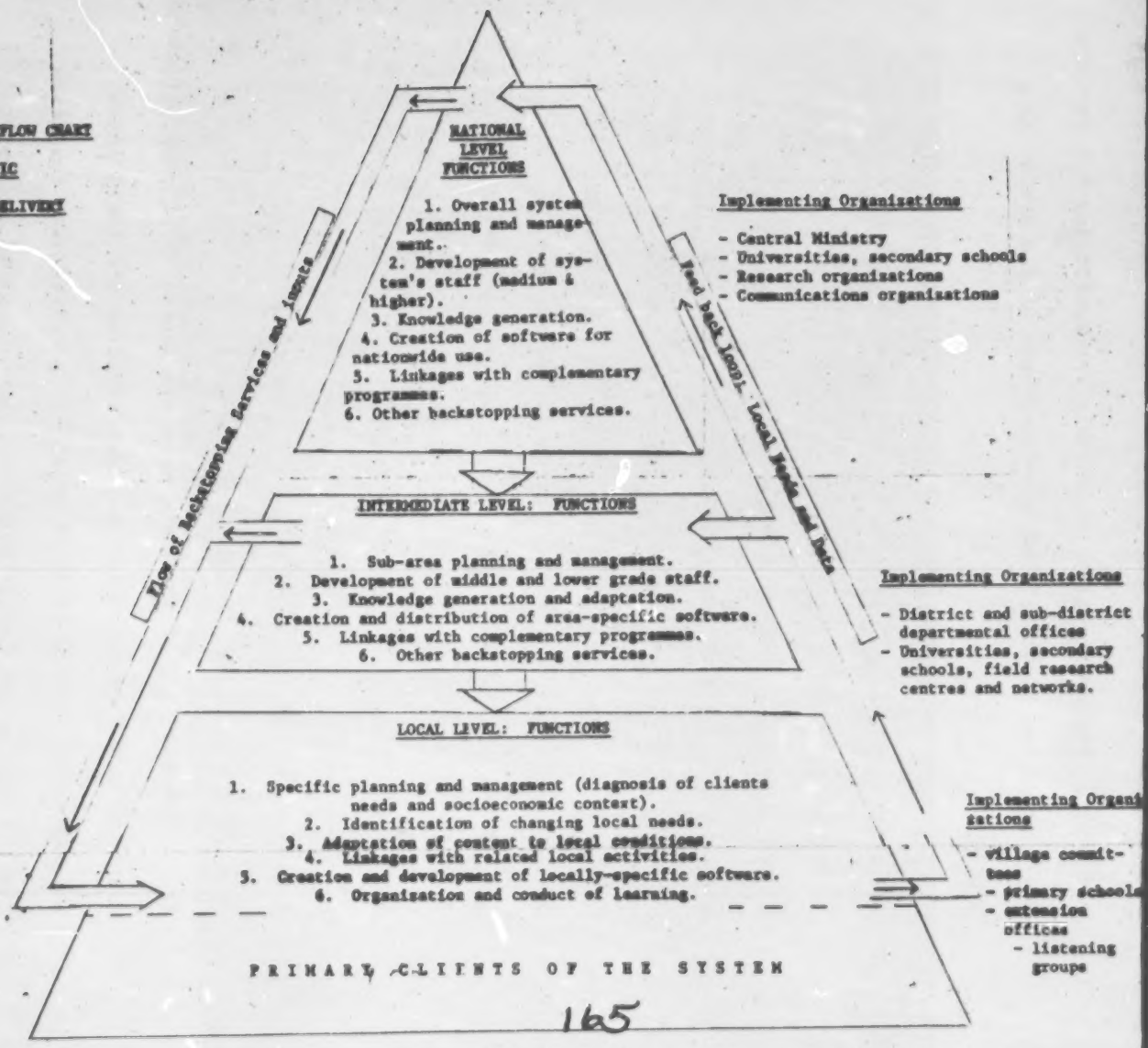
and how; is anyone actually responsible for monitoring the performance, progress, problems, and maladjustments of the system as a whole?

74. A simplified graphic sketch of a "knowledge delivery system" for these vertically integrated nationwide programmes is set forth in Figure 5.3, which shows the multiple local units at the delivery end of the system being nourished by various backstopping components at higher levels, including (1) staff development components (including such formal education units as secondary schools, colleges, and universities); (2) knowledge-generating components (specialized research institutions and networks, colleges, and universities); (3) software production and knowledge transmission components (often contained within the extension wing of the whole system); (4) other components providing technical assistance services to local programmes on operations, research, planning, and evaluation; (5) the planning and management components at various levels of the system.

75. Ideally, all of the components are geared to be responsive to the clients' needs, which are identified at the local level and signalled through feedback channels, precipitating responses that go back to the local levels through various backstopping channels. This picture is intended to highlight the interdependence of all the components and the critical role each plays in the productivity of the whole system -- as measured primarily by the

Figure 5.3

FUNCTIONAL FLOW CHART OF A SPECIFIC KNOWLEDGE DELIVERY SYSTEM


NATIONAL LEVEL FUNCTIONS
1. Overall system planning and management.
2. Development of system's staff (medium & higher).
3. Knowledge generation.
4. Creation of software for nationwide use.
5. Linkages with complementary programmes.
6. Other backstopping services.
Implementing Organisations
- Central Ministry
- Universities, secondary schools
- Research organizations
- Communications organisations
Flow of backstopping services and inputs
Feed back loop: Local Needs and Data
INTERMEDIATE LEVEL: FUNCTIONS
1. Sub-area planning and management.
2. Development of middle and lower grade staff.
3. Knowledge generation and adaptation.
4. Creation and distribution of area-specific software.
5. Linkages with complementary programmes.
6. Other backstopping services.
Implementing Organisations
- District and sub-district departmental offices
- Universities, secondary schools, field research centres and networks.
LOCAL LEVEL: FUNCTIONS
1. Specific planning and management (diagnosis of clients needs and socioeconomic context).
2. Identification of changing local needs.
3. Adaptation of content to local conditions.
4. Linkages with related local activities.
5. Creation and development of locally-specific software.
6. Organization and conduct of learning.
Implementing Organisations
- village committees
- primary schools
- extension offices
- listening groups
PRIMARY CLIENTS OF THE SYSTEM

165

benefits it generates at the local level. A serious deficiency or misfire, for example, by any one component -- such as the staff development or knowledge-generation components, or the feedback mechanism from the local level to these higher echelon components -- can set the whole system awry and diminish its impact at the local level.

76. In reality, most such knowledge delivery systems, judging by the study's findings, function quite inefficiently and have much less impact than they might have using the same resources differently. There are a variety of reasons for this, but one of the most important is the disarray of the organizational arrangements. The agency responsible for operating the local end of the delivery system generally does not have control over some of the most critical backstopping components that vitally affect the successful functioning of local activities. Agricultural extension services, for instance, typically control their local agents, provide some with specialized pre-service and in-service training, and prepare recommended practices and other "messages" for the local agents to disseminate. But the services generally have little or no voice in the other critical components of this "agricultural knowledge delivery system." Most of the basic staff development functions, for example, reside with agricultural colleges and secondary schools; most of the knowledge generation (if any) is done by a separate agricultural research wing or in

the colleges and universities; the mass media facilities needed for communicating with rural clients are generally either in private hands or belong to the Ministry of Information.[5]

77. Other extension services where they exist, dealing for example with health, youth activities, infant care, or small industry, are faced with similar handicaps.

78. In examining such vertical delivery systems ICED found that although they looked like systems superficially, they did not behave like systems, nor was anyone responsible for planning or monitoring them as systems. Most of the different components had been separately planned with quite different terms of reference. They were operating with a high degree of independence, as if they did not appreciate their basic functions and obligations as members of a consortium with a common purpose, namely, to help rural families to improve their productivity and quality of life. Consequently, the productivity of the delivery system itself -- and by extension the productivity of all its parts -- was seriously hobbled by a variety of internal imbalances, discontinuities, and dislocations.

79. These serious malfunctions in knowledge delivery systems stem basically from three sources: first, the dysfunctional division of responsibilities among and within different

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[5] For a more detailed critique of agricultural knowledge systems, see Coombs and Ahmed, Attacking Rural Poverty, Chapter 8.

institutions and organizations; second, the narrow and often conflicting perceptions that different professions and organizations have of their own peculiar role; and third, and most fundamental, the absence of any clear and commonly held conception of the delivery system as a whole, of how each part fits into it and reinforces all the others.

80. Clearly the starting point for remedying such situations is to rally all the key members of the system to a broader and more unified vision of the whole system, to a system-wide evaluation of its present performance and potentialities, and to the beginnings of a joint process of planning the system as a whole and its various parts in a more rational, coherent, and integrated manner.

Multi-purpose Community-based Programmes

81. In between the limited-purpose autonomous programmes and the nationwide vertical knowledge delivery systems are the multi-purpose community-based programmes. Planning and managing these calls for great sensitivity, wide vision, and abundant ingenuity. Rarely do such community-based programmes have a clear-cut structure. To an outside observer they seem like a jumble of activities, with considerable substance perhaps but little form. Hence planning here is less a matter of making statistical projections or counting noses than of constantly sizing up local needs, and opportunities for meeting them by harnessing whatever talent and resources happen to be available and by unleashing the latent energies and enthusiasm

of the community to support endeavors based primarily on self-help. This calls for a highly flexible and pragmatic kind of planning, often intuitive in character, founded on an intimate knowledge of local needs, people, and resources.

82. A number of locally based programmes we saw prompt us to sound a warning. Although community-supported programmes have the great advantage of being close to their clients and being able to mobilize and weave together all sorts of resources and energies at hand, thus reducing the dependence of villagers on outsiders and heightening their capacity for self-determination, they should not be expected to do the impossible. What poverty-stricken villagers can do for themselves, however much they might wish to, is often necessarily very limited. Too often governments have overestimated their capacity -- as, for example, in Upper Volta, where the poorer villages often were unable to meet their obligation to provide the facilities and a good piece of land for a new Rural Education Centre.

83. Government and other outside agencies must meet the local people halfway, with necessary inputs of knowledge and essential material supplies and guidance not available in the community and beyond its economic reach. And to help get the local process started, there is also usually need for strong inputs of stimulation, guidance, and encouragement from outside.

84. Thus, even in the case of local programmes based heavily on community initiative, control, and support, there is need for well-functioning backstopping services. But in contrast to the

"top down" style and philosophy of many extension services, there should be special emphasis on assisting the local people to do their own planning and decision making, even at the expense of letting them make their own mistakes (which are likely to be less serious than those outsiders sometimes make for them).

The Need to Hold Down Costs and Push Up Resources

85. Low unit costs, as emphasized earlier, are an absolute must for any educational programme that aspires to serve a sizable number of rural children and youth or adults in any poor country. Consequently many features and practices favored by educators and specialists reared in richer countries are inapplicable in poorer countries. What may seem to some a relatively modest new facility to house a pilot project may well be a luxury model that a poor country cannot afford to replicate. To set such an unsupportable standard for facilities in an externally supported pilot project may be more trouble than help to the country later on.

86. Other expensive features that must be avoided, or used very sparingly and only with very clear and strong justification, include (a) residential training programmes; (b) full-time educational programmes using expensive professional instructors; (c) expensive mass media systems (such as television, not to mention communications satellites); and (d) expensive training equipment (which is often inappropriate to local needs and pocketbooks) -- in short, things that are basically modelled on the pattern of formal education. Unfortunately, these are the very things that many external

assistance agencies have found it easiest and most tempting to provide -- particularly lending agencies that concentrate on capital-intensive projects, and bi-lateral agencies that make heavy use of "tied" aid in order to encourage domestic support for their budgets.

87. The case studies demonstrate a variety of effective ways to hold down budgetary costs of nonformal programmes (besides simply doing without expensive non-necessities) and to utilize existing resources. The include: (a) when facilities are really necessary, using borrowed facilities in off-hours; (b) getting the community to build the facilities with local materials (or furnished materials and equipment where necessary); (c) having the programme participants construct the facilities as part of their learning experience; (d) substituting part-time lower paid local master craftsmen, artisans, and others with special competencies for full-time professionally trained instructors; (e) using able, well-motivated volunteers extensively; (f) making maximum use of self-instructional materials, with the learners helping one another; (g) making systematic learning an integral part of any on-going development activity or project, such as a new clinic, a local agricultural or community improvement project, or any local economic activity; (h) making the educational programme partially self-supporting by producing goods and services for the consumption of the participants or sale on the market.

88. Not all of the nonformal educational programmes we examined, however, were exploiting these cost-saving potentialities. A number

of them — mainly externally supported pilot projects -- were extremely expensive in terms of what the country itself could afford.

89. Two important questions cry out for practical answers: First, how to make the architects of nonformal programmes pay as much attention to the unit costs and long-term economic feasibility as to the mechanics and pedagogical features of the programme they are designing. The second is how to get programme managers as interested in analyzing costs and looking for potential cost savings and new sources of support as they are in building aggregate budgets. We shall explore some modest answers to these questions later.

90. Though low unit costs are an absolute necessity they are not in themselves sufficient. Low costs have no virtue per se, but only insofar as they are accompanied by significant and worthwhile learning results. This leads us to our final topic in this chapter, evaluation.

Purposes and Techiques of Evaluation

91. What has been said so often about the weather applies also to the evaluation of educational programmes: "Everyone talks about it but nobody does anything about it." Though this is a slight exaggeration, it may help make the point that evaluation is a vitally important but widely neglected aspect of programme planning and management. We found this to be the case in most of the programmes we examined, though there were a few encouraging exceptions. We also found much confusion and uncertainty about what evaluation really means, what purposes it should serve, what questions it should

answer, what kinds of evidence it requires, how it should be done, who should do it, and what should be done with the results.

92. A number of programme managers we met were quite clear about the answers to these questions and were anxious to proceed with evaluation. In fact they had meant to do so for some time but had been too busy doing things to check up on how well they were doing, on what if any difference all this activity was making, and on how they might do things differently and have more effect.

93. Other managers were less clear about what evaluation is and how it could serve their purposes. Some associated it with a mission coming from headquarters to check on how well they were following the "work plan" and its time schedule. (This, however, is more a management audit than a true evaluation; what often needs evaluation is the "work plan" itself.) Still others understood the idea of evaluation but were hesitant to try it -- lest the results expose shortcomings that might lead to criticism of their programme and a reduction of support, or even a demotion for themselves.

94. It must be added that many practitioners have been confounded and mystified by social scientists who talk about evaluation in any incomprehensible jargon and go through baffling statistical calisthenics, yet too seldom emerge with practical conclusions and advice that will help programme managers get better results with their limited resources.

95. Evaluation should be de-mystified. It is, after all, simply a logical, common-sense way of arriving at the best judgments one can about a programme, using the clues and evidence at hand -- especially when (a) the programme is still in the blueprint stage and

its purposes and feasibility need to be realistically assessed; or (b) the programme is under way and its performance and opportunities for improvement need to be assessed; or (c) when it has accumulated considerable experience and deserves to be examined retrospectively to identify important lessons for the future and for other programmes.

96. Effective evaluation requires the same kind of wide-angle lens needed for planning -- a lens that places all of the critical components and relationships of the system in clear perspective and prompts one to ask the right questions about them. Asking the right questions is half the battle; the other half is gathering whatever pertinent evidence -- direct and indirect -- will shed light on these questions.

97. To assume that an evalution can be sound only if it is based on complete and perfect evidence and on statistically measurable outputs and benefits is to ask the impossible. Rough approximations and the piecing together of pertinent clues will often suffice almost as well as a fine grained set of data, and can be assembled and interpreted at a fraction of the cost in time and talent. Though quantitative measures <u>should</u> certainly be used when feasible, they may induce one to leave out crucially important aspects of the picture that do not lend themselves to direct quantitative measurement. Another point warranting emphasis is that the collecting of evidence for evaluation should be as <u>selective</u> and <u>systematic</u> as possible, concentrating on a limited number of critical indicators. Any evaluation effort that gathers great masses of data indiscriminately runs the risk of collapsing under its own weight. The value of an evaluation

depends not on the pounds of statistics gathered but on the judicious, dispassionate, and imaginative use of a relatively modest amount of really critical evidence.

98. A proper and useful evaluation of any nonformal education programme would start out with a broad analytical framework such as the model sketched at the beginning of this chapter -- modified to fit the particular circumstances. In attempting to arrive at judgments (which we do not claim to be full-scale evaluations) about the sample programmes reviewed by this study, we found it especially useful to get the best indications we could about the following critical relationships contained in our analytical model:

1) The relationship (i.e., fitness) of the stated objectives of the programme to the realistic needs, circumstances, and life prospects of the intended learners. (When the objectives have not been clearly specified and written down, the evaluator will have to infer what they are from the programme's behavior, and from interviews if possible with those running it.)

2) The relationship (i.e., suitability) of the programme's content and technology to its objectives and clientele.

3) The relationship of the actual pattern of inputs to the pattern requisite to using the chosen educational technology most effectively.

4) The relation of input costs (capital plus recurrent) to outputs (learning achievements) in a given period. (This is the critical "cost-effectiveness" measure of the system's "internal efficiency.")

5) The relation of the actual benefits of all types accruing from the learning outputs to the programme's objectives.

6) The relation of input costs to corresponding benefits. (This is the important "cost-benefit" test.)

7) The relations and interactions between the particular programme and other educational programmes and complementary noneducational development activities in the same area. (This "test of integration" will be discussed in Chapter 6.)

8) The quantitative relation between the size of the clientele actually served and the total clientele that could presumably benefit from the programme. (This test of "significance of coverage" quickly differentiates marginal mini-programmes from more substantial ones.)

9) The relation of projected resource requirements for substantially expanding the programme to the supply of resources that might realistically be obtainable. (This test of feasibility is very difficult for programmes with high unit costs to pass.)

99. ICED's purpose in attempting to assess the foregoing relationships was not to arrive at an overall judgment of whether a particular programme was a "success" or not, but to identify specific strengths and weaknesses in the programme that might point up useful lessons, especially when examined comparatively with findings from other programmes. Planners and programme operators in individual countries would, of course, have a different purpose in evaluating their programmes, but we believe they will nevertheless find it

useful to examine these same critical relationships -- for these are the real acid tests for judging how well a programme is doing and for discovering ways to help it do better.

100. It should be clear from what has already been said that in advocating a cost-effectiveness and cost-benefit approach to evaluating educational programmes we do not have in mind a purely economic and quantitative approach which would result, for example, in the calculation of a "rate-of-return" on the investment that can then be compared with returns on other kinds of investments. Such calculations are interesting exercises for economists, but the results are often as fragile and unstable as a statistical house of cards and not very useful for planners and decision makers -- in fact, taken alone, they are sometimes seriously misleading. Apart from grave technical and logical faults in such rate-of-return calculations, which we need not go into here, they measure at best only what happened in the past, not what is likely to happen in the future under changing conditions. Moreover, they measure only the direct economic benefits of education (and this on the basis of very dubious assumptions), disregarding the many important non-economic benefits that flow, for example, from programmes to improve infant care, nutrition, sanitation, family planning, and community development.

101. We made this detour mainly to reassure educational administrators that the "rate-of-return" approach to planning and evaluation is but one esoteric application of the basic logic of cost-benefit analysis. There are many other possible forms of application. Though it is essential in planning or evaluating any educational programme

to view it through a cost-benefit framework, this does not require a rate-of-return analysis nor the exclusive use of quantitative data.

102. If our experience in this study is any indication, it is usually quite feasible to form fairly confident and useful judgments about most programmes by viewing them through a cost-benefit framework. It was not very difficult, for example, to spot programmes whose unit costs were clearly too high to justify whatever benefits they were generating currently or to allow substantial future expansion of the programmes. Conversely, it was also quite possible to identify programmes whose costs were very modest and whose evident benefits clearly justified these costs. But in some cases the problem was that the costs were not high enough. By spending more on good software, for example, the programme could increase the learning results and benefits disproportionately.

103. Not surprisingly, assessing benefits was the most difficult part of the task. It was also the most revealing. The most telling question to ask about any programme, we found, is: To what extent and in what ways have the former participants put to use the knowledge and skills they acquired in this programme? How, for example, have they changed their behavior and practices with respect to dietary habits, or family planning, or family hygiene? Did they get a job utilizing their new occupational skills, or get a promotion and higher wages? Have they moved into leadership positions in the community? Have they passed on their new learning to others? How if at all are they applying their new literacy skills? Most programmes could at first supply no more than vague answers about

their alumni. A number of programmes had gathered some sample evidence, some were considering undertaking tracer studies, and a few were actively engaged in sample impact surveys in the field. Through interviews with programme managers and local observers outside the programme, as well as through direct observation, it was usually possible to pick up some significant clues and to get at least a "feel" of its actual impact. In a few instances, ICED in cooperation with local personnel carried out some sample surveys in the field to find out how and to what extent a particular programme had affected the behavior and well-being of it former participants. These sample drillings, though on a very modest scale, were sufficiently revealing to convince us that many programmes would find it feasible and worthwhile to do more of this sort of follow-up sampling themselves.

104. A programme's quantitative scale, which can usually be readily established, is itself one major indicator of impact. A mini-programme serving less than 1 percent of the potential clientele, no matter how well, can hardly be said to be having a major impact on the aggregate needs.

105. To go much beyond these brief comments on evaluation -- particularly into detailed techniques of kinds of tell-tale evidence that it is feasible to collect -- would require a full chapter or even a whole report. But perhaps we have said enough to highlight the basic importance and utility of evaluation efforts -- even rough and modest ones -- and the practical feasibility of carrying out such efforts even in situations where the readily available supply of hard evidence is extremely limited.

Conclusions and Recommendations

106. This chapter has attempted to define the basic requisites for effective planning of individual nonformal education programmes, viewed as learning systems, and to examine issues concerning their principle components -- recognizing that these components are as interdependent as factors in a simultaneous equation.

107. In stressing the importance of systematic planning we are not advocating a monolithic system of planning whereby each programme becomes imprisoned in a centrally imposed blueprint. To the contrary, wide latitude should be given for local determination of the details of programmes, while efforts at higher levels are concentrated on providing effective backstopping services to local activities.

108. We end this chapter with a few suggested steps that individual countries and external assistance agencies might take to improve the planning and evaluation of individual nonformal education programmes. In the following chapter several additional recommendations will be made, relevant to the subjects covered in both chapters. Although our main concern in this report is with programmes especially helpful to infants, children, youth, and women, most of the recommendations in these two chapters, it should be noted, are applicable to all categories of nonformal education.

Do-it-Yourself Programme Reviews

109. The approach most commonly taken by programme managers to improve their programmes is ad hoc and piecemeal -- tinkering in random fashion with, for example, the organizational structure, or

staffing arrangements, or the educational technology or curriculum content, and without due regard to the crucial interrelationships of these items and the repercussions that changes in any one of them may have on the others. It is common practice also for programme managers to judge the efficacy of a programme mainly by the adequacy of its inputs and by how smoothly it is working internally, with too little regard to the quality of its learning outputs and the practical impact this learning is having on the behavior and welfare of the learners and community.

110. Our first suggestion, therefore, is aimed at developing the habit of looking at individual programmes more systematically in a broader frame. Specifically we suggest that individual countries undertake critical case studies of perhaps three to six selected nonformal education programmes that have had at least three years of operational experience, using approximately the same approach and methods employed by ICED in this study. [The final version of this report will include in an appendix a detailed set of guidelines for conducting do-it-yourself case studies of individual programmes.]

111. Each case study could perhaps best be done by a small inter-disciplinary team (three to five members) of able, independent, and broad-gauged analysts drawn from the ranks of government or higher education or elsewhere, with the close cooperation of individuals and agencies involved in the programme's operation. The same team

could do all the cases, or there could be separate teams for each case -- there are advantages to both ways. Depending on the size and complexity of the programme, each case might require from two to eight weeks of full-time team effort to complete.

112. Such an exercise would yield the following benefits. First, it would be valuable training for all involved and help to create a national cadre of system-type planners of nonformal education. Second, it would be helpful to the particular programmes chosen for the exercise, especially by highlighting possible ways to improve their effectiveness and viability. Third, on the basis of these sample cases, the country could formulate its own recommended guidelines, and have its own illustrative case study models, which the managers and staff of all nonformal education programmes could be invited to apply to their own respective programmes as a new and important management tool. The teams who did the original sample case studies could provide them with such technical assistance as they might desire. We see this exercise as strictly an indigenous self-help activity, requiring no external assistance -- though outside agencies and other countries would undoubtedly be interested in and could profit by the results.

Evaluation of a Complex Knowledge Delivery System

113. Our second suggestion is a variant of the first but goes beyond it. It is that each developing country -- with such external technical help as it feels it needs -- undertake a critical system-wide review of one of its more complex "knowledge delivery systems"

serving rural areas, viewing it and testing its strengths and weaknesses through the analytical framework sketched in Figure 5.3 of this chapter and amplified in the text. It could be, for example, a vertically integrated knowledge system embodying agricultural extension services, in which case particular attention might be paid to those services especially designed to benefit rural youth and women. Or it could be the rural health system, encompassing both educational and noneducational components, or a national community development movement in which local programmes are served by a series of extension arms in different fields.

114. This exercise is more complex and bureaucratically more sensitive than our first suggestion, partly because the knowledge delivery system chosen will in all probability cut across both formal and nonformal education components, and across the operational territory of several independently minded government agencies and institutions. But this is precisely why it is such an important exercise. In all probability the divided authority within such knowledge systems and the lack of responsibility in any one place for viewing and monitoring the system as a whole have precluded any such comprehensive review and assessment of it in the past.

115. In addition to yielding the same kinds of training and other immediate benefits as the first set of exercises suggested, this one could also yield a very important and persuasive set of proposals for external assistance. Previously such proposals have generally been narrowly perceived and framed in terms of the interests of one

or another component, which has been one major cause of the system's fragmentation. A systemwide review, by contrast, will highlight the key weak spots wherever they exist throughout the system, and the key opportunities for substantially improving the system's overall performance by attacking these weak spots not individually but in concert. External agencies would rarely if ever have received such a well-justified combination of proposals, coming as they would out of an orderly system-wide analysis.

116. A "package proposal" of this sort, incidentally, would no doubt cut across the normal provinces of a number of specialized external assistance agencies or subdivisions of such agencies -- just as it would cut across several national ministries and other organizations. Thus, to treat it properly -- external agencies would have to join together in a refreshing form of collaboration.

Overhauling "Project Procedures" to Encourage Better Planning

117. This third suggestion is a plea to external assistance agencies to reexamine their standardized forms, criteria, and procedures for preparing and processing "project proposals" and following up on-going projects, with a view to answering the following questions:

- To what extent and in what ways do these existing procedures encourage, or militate against, the broad-visioned, systematic kind of programme planning described in this chapter?

- What modifications and loosening up of these procedures might -- without making the process any more onerous and time-consuming than now -- give stronger encouragement and incentive

to developing countries for improved programme planning, evaluation, and management?

. What other steps might each external agency take toward this same objective? How might they, for example, broaden the planning perspectives and competence of their own technical assistance experts who help developing countries to plan projects, prepare proposals, and implement them?

Strengthening the Role of Cost Analysis

118. This fourth proposal grows out of the many instances we observed where an evident lack of cost-consciousness and financial analysis on the part of programme architects and managers had led programmes into grave trouble, and where the traditional type of budget and accounts shed little light for evaluators on how the resources were actually being used. Our suggestion on how to improve this unhealthy condition is in two parts.

119. First, individual countries could help themselves by setting up a series of national and local seminars and workshops, perhaps led by two or three versatile and down-to-earth economists interested in education. These workshops would be designed to help programme planners and managers to acquire a better understanding of and practical competence in applying basic cost concepts, methods of cost analysis, new techniques of programme budgeting, and more adequate

systems of information gathering and record keeping as important tools of management.

120. These seminars and workshops, we suggest, should use actual local programmes for laboratory exercises, thus meeting the practitioners on their own ground and keeping the seminar from deteriorating into theoretical lectures on elementary economics. Such seminars and workshops could also be richly nourished by the growing body of international literature on educational cost and financing analysis.[6]

121. Second, external assistance agencies, in considering modifications of their project procedures and criteria as suggested earlier, should give special attention to prospective or actual costs of all main elements of projects, and to comparing costs against foreseeable resource supplies as an acid test of short- and long-term feasibility. External agencies may also find it desirable to conduct workshops for their own staff members, including especially their field staff, on treating the economic aspects of project preparation, management, and evaluation.

Self-Conducted Tracer Studies

122. We have emphasized in this and previous chapters the importance of finding out what the former participants in any educational

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[6] The International Institute for Educational Planning has been especially active in this field. See for example the series of case studies on educational cost analysis published by UNESCO/IIEP, and the how-to-do-it book based on these cases: P. H. Coombs and J. Hallak, Managing Educational Costs (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972).

programme have actually done with what they learned. This sort of feedback intelligence is indispensable to forming a valid judgment of what a programme is really accomplishing and to identifying ways to improve its overall performance.

123. There are different ways to go about this. One is to have some social science technicians design and carry out a relatively comprehensive and sophisticated tracer study, leading to a large collection of statistics, subjected to various types of correlations and interpretations. But to use such elaborate methodologies is costly in money, time, and specialized manpower and therefore of doubtful feasibility or advisability in most situations. Nor is it absolutely necessary in most cases, if the main purpose is to help operators to make more enlightened decisions.

124. We therefore recommend a second way, which is to do some sample drillings on a much more modest scale and in a more pragmatic way. The important thing is to formulate carefully the key questions whose answers would be most revealing to the programme managers, then the kinds of evidence it might be easiest and most feasible to collect in the field -- through sample interviews, local records, and direct observation -- which could shed meaningful light on these questions in relatively short order.

125. Operational personnel of the programme in direct partnership with one or two practical-minded social scientists could devise a relatively simple and workable plan for gathering and analyzing the

evidence, select a few appropriate sample areas and types of persons to be contacted, and then carry out the plan according to the agreed time schedule. It would be useful for some of the programme's own operational personnel -- especially members of top management -- to participate directly in the field work, hand-in-hand with the trained social scientists, since each might see different things in the same situation and their combined impressions would be more valuable. University students could also help out with the field work.

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126. This chapter has confined its focus mainly to managing individual programmes, but to stop there would provide no assurance against the continuation of the programme fragmentation that has seriously handicapped this whole field in the past. Thus, the next chapter digs into the problems involved in relating individual programmes more productively to each other and to noneducational factors in the environment as well.

CHAPTER 6

BUILDING NEW RURAL EDUCATION STRATEGIES

1. We return full circle in this final chapter to the broad perspective of education and rural development we began with in Chapter 1. Here we attempt to come to grips with the large issues involved in building more coherent educational strategies -- strategies aimed at promoting the important goals of rural development cited earlier, especially those directly tied to the welfare and life prospects of infants, children, and youth. Unless the individual programmes discussed in the previous chapter are locked into a larger strategy, their full potential cannot be realized.

2. Strategy is a vague and perhaps overused term. In this context we mean by it the composite of methods adopted to pursue chosen policy goals within the area of maneuver, circumscribed by available economic resources and by various political, administrative, and cultural factors, among others. Strategy implies a broad and relatively long-range view -- broader, for example, than that embraced by any one educational programme, and longer-range than any one annual plan or budget. It is also broader in concept than any single policy or goal, since its function is to mediate between, harmonize, and advance a <u>combination</u> of policies and goals. Thus, the sort of rural education strategy envisaged here would embrace

all the significant educational goals, policies, and programmes in a given rural area of a country or in its rural areas collectively.

3. If one accepts the view taken in this report -- that it is unrealistic and inadvisable to treat education as a separate "sector," that it should be seen instead as a diversity of essential learning inputs required to nurture all aspects of rural development, then it follows that a rural educational strategy cannot stand alone. It must be an integral part of larger rural development strategy. The best strategy with respect to health and family improvement education, for instance, or agricultural and other types of occupational education, will thus depend partly on what other measures of a noneducational kind are being taken in these fields.

The Realities of Strategy Building

4. Discussions of strategy building have a way of floating off into dream worlds filled with intellectually intriguing concepts, theories, and methodologies that bear little resemblance to how things actually happen or can happen in the real world. To avoid this, it seems advisable to take account of a few important realities at the outset.

How Strategies are Made

5. Strategies do not spring full blown from the brow of a prime minister, his cabinet, or the national planning commission. They

evolve as the result of many contending forces and decisions. Some of these decisions -- generally the lesser ones -- are made by technicians. Others are made solely by politicians. But most of the important ones are hammered out at the interface where technical and political considerations converge -- generally with no explicit reference to any predetermined strategy.

6. Thus it is hardly surprising that, despite wide agreement among experts that nations should have well-conceived development strategies, one looks in vain throughout the developing world today for any clear-cut examples of consciously conceived and lucidly articulated rural development strategies and corresponding rural education strategies.

7. On those rare occasions when official national strategies are announced, they are invariably an expression of future intent, not of present reality, and it remains to be seen whether they will ever find expression in reality. To discover what a nation's <u>real</u> strategy is, or has been, one must deduce it from the pattern of decisions and actions actually taken and from the directions in which they are tending.

8. This is not to suggest that serious discussion of strategies has no place, but merely to indicate that strategies do not exist in disembodied form. Past and present strategies are the summation of a great variety of decisions and actions actually taken. Future

strategies, if taken seriously, can provide useful guidelines to decisions and actions yet to come.

Why Rural Development Strategies Are Lacking

9. The present lack of strong, coherent, and comprehensive rural development and rural education strategies reflects a further set of realities, including: (1) the low priority thus far accorded rural development in most countries; (2) the absence of broad intellectual consensus on the nature and goals of rural development; (3) the narrow and fragmented perceptions of rural development -- and of education's role in this complex process -- on the part of various specialized professions and operating agencies that have a stake in the matter; (4) the resulting piecemeal approach that each of them has taken to formulating policies and programmes related to rural development; and (5) so far as education is concerned, the equating of education with schooling and the dominance and inertia of formal education systems poorly adapted to promoting rural development.

10. Despite these constraints, all developing countries do have today assorted pieces of a rural development and education strategy which, if viewed in a wider frame and properly adjusted, could well be woven into a more unified, consistent, and mutually reinforcing whole. This, of course, would take time and the mediation of many

different points of view. But there can be no doubt that the results would more than justify the effort, for so long as the ad hoc piecemeal approach continues, every effort will suffer and rural people will be the victims.

What Strategies Require

11. Obviously each country must evolve its own rural education strategy to fit its own values and circumstances and its own overall rural development strategy. Nevertheless, the findings of the ICED study suggest some directions and requirements that are relevant for all countries as they go about the important task of strategy building:

. First, the development of a social and political climate conducive to change, and a broadly held, compelling vision of what tomorrow can be and how education can help to realize that vision.

. Second, a steady movement toward integrating complementary rural education efforts with one another and with other development efforts, area by area. This includes a progressively greater linking and blending of formal and nonformal components, and a meshing of both with informal education.

. Third, a progressive devolution of responsibility for initiative, planning, and management of educational and other development efforts from the national level to lower echelons.

. Fourth, a steady strengthening of backstopping services for all local educational efforts.

. Fifth, the development of a new breed of planners-implementers and other essential types of personnel to plan and operate a greatly expanded and enriched rural learning system.

. Sixth, far-reaching changes in conventional organizational forms and administrative styles and attitudes.

. Seventh, the mobilization of increased resources and popular support to undergird this expanded learning system.

. Eighth, a determined and imaginative effort to ensure that a fair share of the benefits go to the most disadvantaged sub-groups in the rural population.

The balance of this chapter is addressed to these several requirements.

A Compelling Vision of Tomorrow

12. It cannot be too often emphasized that rural people themselves must supply the primary energies and resources to improve their own

lives and futures. They must be the main change-agents for transforming their own rural societies. There is no other way. Governments and external assistance agencies can and must assist rural people in this endeavor by providing inspiration, encouragement, and technical and material help. But they cannot possibly do the job for them.

13. What then will motivate and energize rural people for this great endeavor? Clearly, they must first have an exciting vision of a better tomorrow -- for themselves, their children, their community, and their nation, a better tomorrow that they themselves will help plan and bring about by their personal efforts and collective power.

14. This vision cannot be the concoction of outsiders based on their predilections. It must be rooted in the authentic aspirations of the rural people directly concerned. It must be articulated by their own creditable local and national leaders, both formal and informal. If the vision is to be more than an empty promise it must be realistic. And even if realistic, it must be reinforced by a willingness and determination to induce the necessary changes and accept the sacrifices required to bring the vision to reality. In this respect there are great differences among countries, within countries, and from one time to another in the same country.

15. Until and unless there is a favorable climate -- at least in some communities and areas, if not throughout the country -- educational and other technicians will be severely circumscribed in what they can do to help. This lesson has come slowly, particularly to enthusiastic but inexperienced technicians, but by now it has been established beyond a doubt.

Vision of a Rural Learning System

16. The architects and operators of rural education programmes, no less than villagers and local and national leaders, also require a long-range vision to guide their shorter-range plans, choices, and decisions.

17. For this purpose we commend -- not as a theoretical model or utopian dream, but as a practical day-to-day aid -- the vision of a comprehensive lifelong rural learning system. By this we do not mean a highly structured, monolithic, centrally planned and managed system, comparable to most formal education systems. We have in mind a looser, more flexible, and highly diversified network of interacting educational activities, calculated to provide rural people, regardless of sex or social status, with a convenient and relevant array of learning options to fit their evolving interests and needs throughout their lives. Such a system, of course, would by its very

nature have to be a synthesis of informal, formal, and nonformal educational components, founded both on traditional and indigenous learning processes and institutions and on newly established ones.

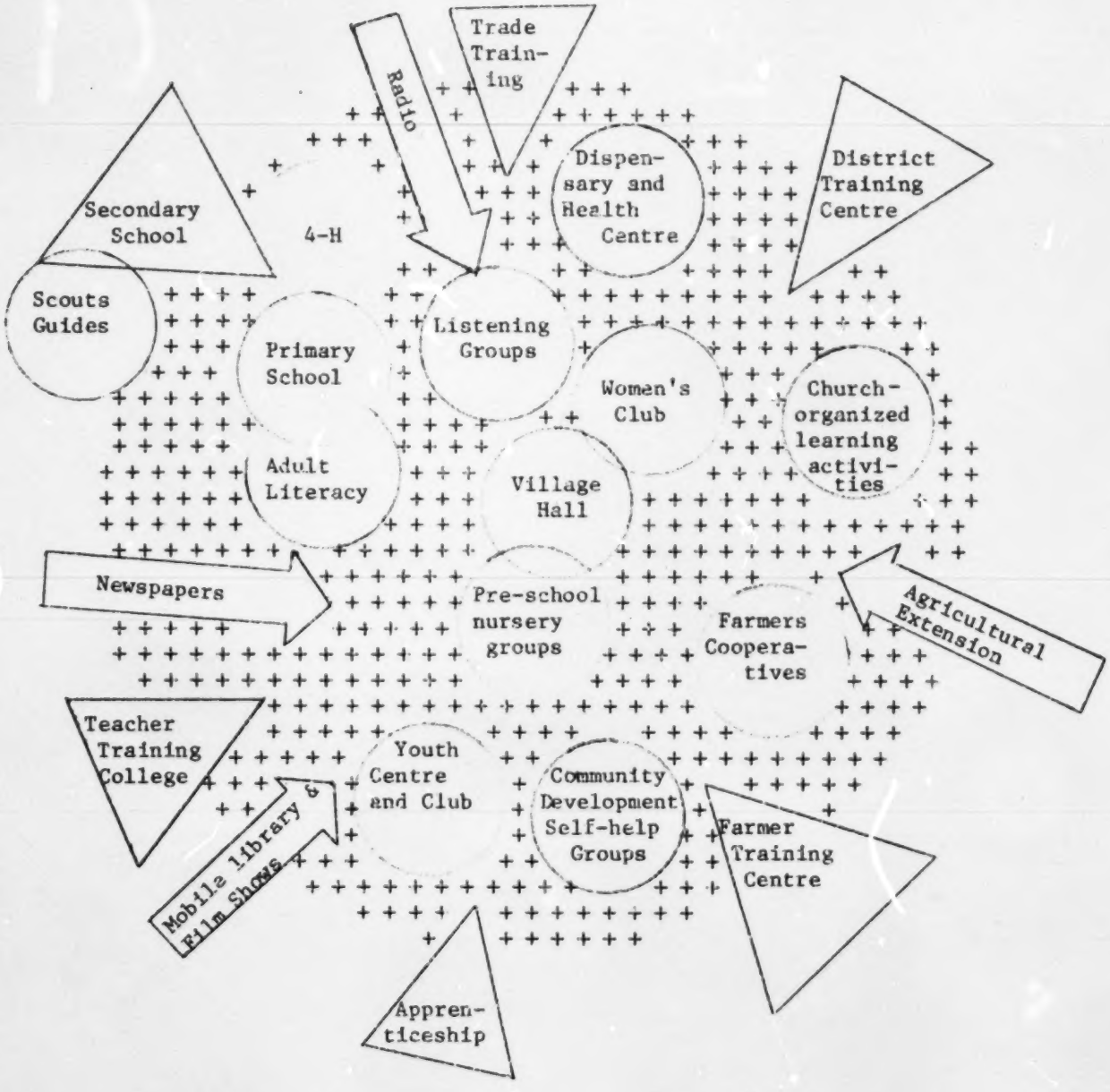
18. A lifelong rural learning system is not an impractical dream; in rudimentary form such systems already exist -- everywhere. But they are not conceived of as systems or treated as systems; they are, as it were, accumulations of historical accidents. To illustrate the point, Chart 6.1 shows some of the existing local institutions and educational activities observed in ICED's field studies. (The items shown on the chart, it should be emphasized, did not all show up in one village; most villages today would have only a few of them at best.)

19. When one regards these components as the foundations and building blocks of what can eventually become a much more coherent and effective rural learning system, one can develop for the first time a rational framework and set of criteria for planning improvements and successive additions to the system. For this reason we recommended earlier (in Chapter 2 and previously in New Paths to Learning) that countries undertake "sizing up exercises" to provide them with an inventory of these existing foundations and building blocks, together with a clearer picture of major gaps that urgently need filling and some useful clues as to what specific early steps might be taken toward strengthening the system.

Chart 6.1

Existing Village-Level Building Blocks for a

Stronger Future Rural Learning System



KEY: Village-Level Informal Learning and Indigenous Learning Institutions.

198

20. Once the sizing up exercise has produced a picture of the system as it exists and a rough map of the main directions in which it should evolve, some new and operationally pertinent questions can be asked. For example, what would the expansion of this or that existing programme actually do for the system as a whole? Would the same resources spent in a different direction do more good? How would a proposed new programme fit in? Would it help fill a priority gap, or simply make a peripheral contribution? How might certain new linkages between existing programmes -- perhaps even some mergers -- enhance the efficiency and impact of the system?

Progress Toward Integration

21. To fashion a coherent and effective rural learning system, clearly a major effort must be made to integrate all the pieces: the diverse elements shown in Chart 6.1 and others that may be added in the future, not to mention various backstopping components above the local level.

22. The term integration as used here means harmonizing two or more activities having something in common (such as the same audience, or the same objectives, or similar backstopping needs) with a view to increasing their combined effectiveness. This, it should be noted, is a <u>functional</u>, not an <u>organizational</u> definition of integration.

Seen in this light, integration can take many forms, differ greatly in degree, and be brought about in a great many ways. In some instances, for example, it may involve quite informal arrangements between two or more programmes to share facilities or radio time, for example, or to lend specialized personnel to each other, or to work together in preparing learning materials. In other cases it may involve the outright merger of previously separate activities into a consolidated programme under one organization.

23. In all events the object is to reverse the old piecemeal approach that has resulted in debilitating fragmentation. The case for an integrated approach is that it enables resources to go further, permits related programmes to do things together they could not do separately, and serves the convenience of the audience and reduces their confusion.

Multiple Dimensions of Integration

24. Efforts toward better integration are needed in three main directions: first, between different educational activities in the same area, particularly those servicing a common audience; second, between educational activities and complementary noneducational activities having common goals and interests; and third, between local educational activities and various activities above that level which

can provide useful backstopping inputs and services. The first two forms of integration are generally horizontal in space, the third is vertical.

25. Cooperation toward better integration can and should take place at every level -- between central ministries and national voluntary organizations at the top level, between local programmes at the grass-roots level, and between backstopping and planning services at intermediate levels. The obstacles to effective integration, of which there are many (mostly man-made), tend to diminish the closer one gets to the local scene of action and the more everyone focuses on the needs of the local people and how they can be met rather than on organizational issues. Local opportunities for integration can be wasted, however, if field representatives of national (or international) agencies fear that their headquarters will not share their own enthusiasm for a local team effort cutting across agency lines of jurisdiction. Field agents remain constrained and integration suffers unless their organizations are making serious efforts to collaborate at the top level and to encourage their field people to collaborate locally.

26. All this is to say that there is no single formula for achieving better integration. It is basically a question of people <u>wanting</u> to integrate wherever feasible because they see the advantages of doing

so, both for their clients and for their own organization and programme. Given this willingness and positive attitudes on the part of all concerned, integration becomes a pragmatic step-by-step process extending over a long period and never really ending. Statutory authorization and support can facilitate the process, but attempts to force integration upon unwilling programme operators are far less likely to succeed than willing integration based on enlightened persuasion and understanding.

Coordination versus Integration

27. There is a fundamental difference between the kind of functional and substantive integration of effort envisaged above, and what usually goes on under the rubric of "coordination."

28. Sometimes coordination of efforts, whether by a "czar" or by a group of equals, results in an actual meshing of efforts that would fit our functional definition of integration. More often, however, coordination results in keeping potentially competitive organizations out of each other's way and off collision courses rather than actually bringing their programmes closer together. Coordinating committees and councils thus often become peace-keeping bodies. They can also serve as screens to protect their organizational members against critics who charge them with unwholesome competition, duplication of

effort, and failure to cooperate. But if the net effect is to divide the territory more sharply, the way a cartel might, then the result is greater programme segregation and fragmentation, not better integration.

Positive Examples of Integration

29. While the movement toward integration is still distressingly weak, there are signs of a new acceleration. Some encouraging examples of integration are cited below.

30. The youth programme in Jombang (Indonesia) is a heartening illustration of how multiple benefits can result from a local initiative (taken by the Bupati, or chief district officer) to mobilize and integrate a variety of human and material resources available locally (including field agents of central ministries, as well as local teachers, civic leaders, scout organizations, farmer cooperatives, etc.) in a concerted effort to broaden the opportunities of out-of-school boys and girls for self- and community development.

31. A quite different kind of example is Kenya's National Board of Adult Education, made up originally of representatives of various government and voluntary organizations involved in nonformal education, founded to promote a stronger and more unified national effort in out-of-school education. Over the years the Board has compiled vital and revealing information not previously available about the existing pattern of programmes and has provided a useful forum where organizations and individuals with

a common interest in out-of-school education can exchange ideas and plans. Additionally, the Board has sought to exercise its mandate to encourage innovative inter-agency experiments and to sponsor operationally useful research into new ventures in this general field. Although the Board has so far fallen short of fulfilling its early promise, it has nevertheless played a valuable role. Thailand, Malaysia, and a number of other countries are making somewhat similar efforts to draw together the sponsors and managers of nonformal education programmes in the interest of achieving a more integrated effort.

32. Experience with this particular approach to integration has also shown the dangers of expecting too much. Setting up yet another advisory or consultative national committee, board, or council that has no "bite" may have only an ephemeral effect. Unless the new body has strong and enduring political and bureaucratic support it will soon become a flimsy piece of window-dressing. For its voice to be taken seriously, it must have strong full-time leadership and some control over funding, personnel, and policy development. An inter-agency organ of this kind constantly has to prove its worth, through activities of use and benefit to the member organizations, which they cannot undertake themselves.

33. Other positive examples of integration found in our case studies include: Mali's functional literacy efforts, integrated into specific agricultural production and other development schemes; the recent decision of Jamaica's new government to knit together

previously separate youth centres and camps into a more integrated youth programme; and the novel organizational invention in Brazil called PIPMO which, instead of creating its own new skill training programmes for out-of-school youth, channels its funds into existing training organizations, thereby exerting a vitalizing and integrative influence on their programmes. In Cuba, quite untypically, the Ministry of Education has responsibility for many nonformal as well as formal educational programmes and thus is in an unusually favorable position to promote their integration.

34. One of the interesting services rendered by ACPO in Colombia is to advise rural people about the various governmental and private rural services available to them and how they can take advantage of these. In this way ACPO is playing a non-threatening integrative role for these otherwise scattered programmes. In the field of voluntary agencies, the National Christian Council of Kenya has long been an important instrument for promoting improved integration of its members diverse educational activities.

35. Any country that undertakes the kind of "sizing up exercise" recommended will probably discover a number of promising entry points for promoting better integration of educational programmes, and between such programmes and related development activities. They may also find that the team that conducted the sizing up exercise, and others who participated in it, can be a very useful nucleus for carrying the process on to the next stage.

Steps Toward Decentralization

36. One of the major themes of this report has been the need to decentralize more planning, decision making, and management responsibilities, to bring them closer to the local scene of action so that educational programmes -- and development actions generally -- can become more suitable and responsive to the varying needs, circumstances,and potentialities of each rural area. A further argument for greater decentralization is that this is the only practical way to give local people (who know their own needs and problems best) a larger voice in shaping plans and decisions that directly affect their lives. It is also the only effective way to unleash latent local energies and resources on a sufficiently massive scale to move rural development ahead at an accelerated pace.

37. There is growing support for this thesis among seasoned development experts and administrators both in developing countries and in external assistance agencies. They more than others are acutely aware that although nationwide plans and policies can provide a useful framework and set of guidelines for area-by-area development, and a necessary basis for broad budgetary allocations, such plans do not automatically translate themselves into appropriate actions and policies for each particular area. Despite this growing consensus on the need for decentralization, however, a yawning gap still remains between the general idea and its practical application. The gap is at least as wide in education as

in other fields. Especially in formal education, central administrators have frequently been slow to acknowledge the need for local adaptation and diversity.

38. A number of countries have already taken or are in the process of taking positive steps toward decentralization and toward integrated area development planning -- among them India, Indonesia, Kenya, and Peru. Their experience, though fruitful and encouraging, underscores the importance of not underestimating the practical difficulties that must be overcome and the lengthy time required to make sizable progress in this direction.

39. Four especially serious problems -- particularly for newer and less experienced nations -- warrant mention here: first, the thinness and general weakness of their administrative structures and personnel cadres below the national level, and hence their limited ability to handle decentralized planning and management responsibilities; second, the worldwide paucity of practical experience and of well-tested techniques for this kind of decentralized, integrated area planning; third, the difficulty of striking a viable balance between strengthening local initiative and diversity on the one hand and strengthening national integration, unity, and stability on the other; and fourth, the natural resistance of most career officials and functionaries to surrendering even a modicum of their accustomed sovereignty and to transforming their role to being facilitators rather than directors.

40. This disinclination of many headquarters civil servants to precipitate a process of decentralization is ironically reminiscent of the argument so often heard in the twilight days of colonialism: "In principle we are 100 percent in favor of giving the colonies their independence, but they are not yet ready for it." The response given then has relevance now: "They never will be ready -- until they have actually been granted independence and had to learn how to use it."

41. Unlike independence, of course, decentralization is not an all-or-nothing proposition; it is a matter of moving step-by-step toward a new division of functions and responsibilities between various echelons. Decentralization undoubtedly goes most smoothly when prudent measures are taken prior to each step to prepare the lower echelons to assume heavier responsibilities. But prudence should not become the alibi for excessive delay, for this could prove the most imprudent policy of all. The problem, after all, is not one of jeopardizing a host of strong and lively, centrally inspired educational and other development activities already going on in rural areas. The problem is quite the opposite; it is the sparsity and weakness of just such activities. Thus the prime question is how to initiate and nurture them. The problem is also how to reverse the deep sense of dependence and skepticism that has been instilled in villagers after years of being regulated and directed by agents of a distant government in which they had no voice. The sooner they recover their voice and a sense of their own power, freedom, and responsibility to improve their lot, the

sooner rural development can become a burgeoning movement.

Possible Steps Toward Decentralization

42. A fair question to ask at this point, of course, is: What are the kinds of practical and prudent steps a government can take to initiate and accelerate this necessary process of decentralization and to arouse and mobilize the spirit and energies of rural people in their own behalf? This question obviously extends well beyond the scope of ICED's study, though it is intermingled with it. In any event we have no simple answer to offer, but only suggestions on the basis of what we have witnessed.

43. The first task is to develop a broader and deeper consensus throughout the upper reaches of government on the desirability and sheer necessity of moving toward greater decentralization. Such a consensus can best arise from a clear and candid recognition of the practical limitations on what centralized planning and management can be expected to accomplish in any nation with diversified areas, conditions, and needs, and from a recognition also of the practical limitations of any centralized fiscal system to mobilize, by itself, sufficient resources for nationwide development.

44. Such a consensus, as it spreads through various ministries, can inspire a shift of outlook and attitude conducive to encouraging and rewarding more creative initiatives at lower echelons. Not all field personnel and not all areas are likely to respond equally to an open invitation to take more initiatives and to integrate their

efforts with others in their area. But there is reason to believe that enough would respond to get a more vigorous process of local innovation under way. This process might then be accelerated, for example, by circulating information about particularly interesting innovations to all other areas of the country.

45. The process might be further strengthened by the creation of one or more flexible technical assistance and support groups that could be called upon by local leaders and officials for advice and practical help in planning and mounting locally conceived experiments and innovations. Steps are currently being taken in Indonesia to establish just such a special support group -- staffed and directed by Indonesian personnel -- to encourage and assist, with both technical and financial help, promising local innovations in the whole field of formal and nonformal education.

46. In addition to general nationwide encouragement of limited-scale local experiments and initiatives, more concentrated and systematic effort in a few selected areas is needed to develop the new mechanisms, techniques, and personnel for making a broad, area-based integrated attack on rural development, involving all relevant government services, voluntary organizations, and local institutions and people. Such pilot areas could be the laboratories and initial training grounds for the whole nation. They would be exempted -- at least for a trial period -- from the accumulation of bureaucratic rules, procedures, customs, and other constraints that have served to discourage and inhibit creative local initiatives. The government field personnel already in such experimental areas would be

augmented as necessary to ensure strong and competent interdisciplinary planning and an operational team to guide and assist the whole effort, while keeping within the personnel and financial limits of what would be feasible to replicate in more districts later on.

47. In such a context, educational planners, covering the full range of formal and nonformal education, would be co-equal members of a broad-spectrum development team. Their task would not be to plan education per se as a separate sector, but rather to work with other team members to ensure that appropriate educational components were included in development schemes and activities.

Stronger Backstopping for Local Educational Programmes

48. Closely connected to integration and decentralization is the need for stronger backstopping of local educational activities. The point was made in Chapter 5 that virtually any local educational activity, whether organizationally autonomous or part of a vertically organized knowledge delivery system, requires vital inputs and support services from outside the immediate locality. These needed backstopping services vary considerably according to the nature of the programme, but they generally fall within the following main categories:

- Expert technical services, such as diagnostic and operations research and evaluation services needed locally; advice on planning, management, staff recruitment, and resource mobilization; visits by subject experts to enrich local programmes; and assistance in integrating local

programmes with one another and with local development activities, tying them in with area development plans and projects.

. Staff development, including initial orientation and training for both professional and volunteer staff, followed by frequent refresher training and retraining.

. Knowledge flows, to maintain rich, relevant, and dynamic programme content, responsive to the changing and growing learning needs and interests of local clienteles.

. Flows of software in various forms -- printed materials, radio broadcasts, films and filmstrips, demonstration materials, etc. -- which embody the content in convenient, attractive, and comprehensive form.

49. ICED's field studies confirmed that there is no greater and more universal cause of weakness in nonformal education programmes than the poverty of these backstopping services and the absense, for local programmes, of stimulating ties with the outside. Most local programmes are extraordinarily isolated, socially and intellectually, and for this reason tend to atrophy. All this reflects a widespread serious neglect of backstopping provisions in the planning and management of educational programmes and in the allocation of available resources.

50. Certain programmes examined by ICED, as noted in Chapter 5, stand as encouraging exceptions to this general rule. But the point we want to stress here goes beyond individual programmes.

It is that the only practical way for most individual programmes to meet their needs is not to build up their own exclusive backstopping services but rather to join forces with other programmes to build up much stronger and more economical common backstopping services. We found disappointingly few examples of this approach, but enough to suggest some promising possibilities.

Multipurpose Backstopping Centres

51. One attractive possibility -- now being tried out in Kenya, for example -- is to develop a multipurpose training and development centre for each district or sub-district. These centres, equipped to serve a wide variety of programmes, subjects, and objectives in the area, are an alternative to having a scatteration of relatively weak and inefficient single-purpose training centres each going its own way.

52. Multipurpose centres of this sort have several strong advantages and potentialities. First, by having a multidisciplinary staff (furnished by several ministries) they can provide broader and richer staff training programmes in a variety of fields. Second, by serving more clienteles, these centres can be scheduled for fuller utilization, spreading the costs over more participants. Third, such centres at the district or sub-district level can become sources of inspiration and support for a network of simple local learning centres serving a variety of clienteles and learning needs -- supplying them not only with staff training services but with knowledge inputs and software tailored to current local needs,

and miscellaneous other advisory and support services.

53. In addition to providing educational services, a multipurpose centre in more developed form, can serve as a combined operating base for various rural field services, thereby tying training more closely to operational realities, and bringing together the key personnel involved in different major facets of rural development. This physical proximity of experts and workers on different fronts, enabling them to rub elbows and exchange ideas regularly and even to take field trips together, can facilitate the integration of their respective efforts as nothing else.

54. Ultimately the multipurpose centre could become the development planning and implementation hub for the area it serves -- the place where local leaders gather with government specialists and others and act as an integrated development planning and backstopping team for all facets of development.

Versatile Software Generating Centres

55. Most national programmes concerned with a particular field and objective -- such as health, nutrition, family planning, child care -- have considerable difficulty in developing attractive and effective booklets, radio broadcasts, posters, films, cartoon-books, and other software for conveying important ideas and information to local audiences. This is so even when they have set aside funds for the purpose. To build their own teams of talent for these purposes is too expensive, particularly since the volume of work

fluctuates considerably. Yet to farm out the work to government information bureaus often has serious drawbacks, particularly if the software package has to be broken up among different types of communications specialists in different agencies or sub-divisions having different priorities and work schedules and being unaccustomed to working as a team.

56. The Social Communications Center in Manila, an independent, nonprofit organization well equipped with able and versatile talent and equipment to work in all the main media forms, suggests a novel and attractive solution. The SCC prepares multimedia software "packages" for a variety of public and voluntary organizations, tailored to each one's particular requirements and audience -- including, for example, brochures, educational comic books, and series of entertaining "soap opera" broadcasts with educational content.

57. Any developing country could undoubtedly make good use of -- and could afford -- one or more independent, or quasi-independent, versatile "software generating centers" of this sort, staffed by a core group of creative people and free to hire other talent on a temporary or part-time basis as needed. Various organizations and agencies involved in nonformal education and requiring good instructional materials, broadcasts, and so forth could contract with such centres to prepare good quality "software packages." The educational organizations themselves, through their own experts or others, would,of course, have to provide and authenticate the basic substantive content to be conveyed.

58. Virtually all developing countries already have a significant supply of creative writers, artists, actors, and communications technicians, as well as printing, film, and broadcasting equipment, required for such production. Their main problem is how to mobilize, organize, and deploy these talents and facilities to get a better educational job done. Flexible "software generating centres," free to mobilize and pay talent outside the rigid civil service rules and structure and free to serve a variety of customers, appear to be one solution worth trying.

Essential Measures for Staff Development

59. The building and operating of rural learning systems, the progressive decentralization of development planning and management, and the promotion of a more integrated approach to rural development, area by area -- all create large-scale requirements for many types of manpower and hence for a variety of staff development schemes and activities.

The Need for Inservice Refresher Training

60. Along with the neglect of knowledge generation and software generation, the neglect of staff development -- particularly inservice intellectual refresher training and growth -- has been a cardinal source of weakness in educational programmes of all sorts. There are many explanations for this neglect, among them: the lack of glamour of training compared with visible front-line action; the reluctance of administrators of thinly staffed rural

services to pull a worker off the job even for a few days of refresher training; the low repute of inservice training programmes, which trainees themselves often find dull and irrelevant to their needs; the lack of conviction among top administrators and budgetmakers -- even of educational programmes -- that inservice training is really important; and the naive but common assumption that once a person has received training, it will last him all his life.

61. Whatever the reasons in any particular case, this neglect of and indifference toward the periodic recharging of the intellectual and spiritual resources of staff imposes heavy penalties on the quality, attractiveness, and effectiveness of educational programmes. For example, complaints abound against rural primary school teachers for their inability to handle older groups of learners effectively in functional literacy programmes. Yet the record almost everywhere shows that few resources and little effort have been invested in retraining teachers for this purpose. Often they are given only two or three days or at most a week of "special training," then thrown on their own, with little or no follow-up, not even occasional sympathetic counselling and coaching by a more experienced visiting supervisor. Agricultural extension workers, rural para-medical workers, and others of their kind suffer from similar neglect almost everywhere. The programmes observed by ICED that took staff

training seriously -- such as ACPO and SENA in Colombia, and the Literacy and Family Life Programme in Thailand -- were well rewarded for their efforts. Others that did not clearly suffered.

62. The costs of frequent short-term refresher training for professional personnel are minor compared with the costs of their original preservice education and with their current salary bill. It is false economy to stint on this item, for a relatively modest investment in stimulating and frequent refresher training would pay large dividends in heightening both competence and morale. This is another way in which formal institutions -- universities, agricultural colleges, and teacher training colleges -- could contribute importantly to strengthening nonformal education, by providing stimulating in-service programmes for workers in the vinyard. This is happening with good effect in some places, but surprisingly few.

63. It is false economy also to stint on the orientation, training, and continuous refreshment of volunteer instructors and local animateurs and organizers. Getting together for socially and intellectually stimulating experiences, having dialogues with able experts, being treated with respect and dignity, and getting a keen sense of personal development and of involvement in an important movement are among their main rewards of volunteers, and foremost among the incentives that keep them volunteering.

Adverse Effects of Government Employment Practices

64. The problems of staffing in rural education (and other) services are due in large part to detrimental influence of government hiring

policies and civil service structures.

65. First of all, by giving heavy weight to formal educational qualifications and little weight to an applicant's background, experience, and demonstrated fitness for a rural service post, public agencies stack the cards against able and well-motivated young people with rural backgrounds who were deprived of secondary and higher educational opportunities. Thus the agencies tend to end up with a disproportionate number of less able and poorly motivated secondary school and college graduates from urban environments, who accept rural posts out of sheer desperation. More channels need to be opened for able and ambitious rural boys and girls -- including those with weak formal preparation -- to make their way into and upward in rural public service careers. Second, civil service systems virtually everywhere tend to penalize the rural field worker as against the urban office worker, adding further disincentive to the already strong natural ones for living and working in rural areas. Third, civil service promotion policies, with their strong bias for siphoning the best field operators into desk jobs, militate against building the strong teams at the district level and below that are necessary for handling the heavy responsibilities of decentralized planning and management.

66. These perverse incentive and reward structures will remain a major roadblock to effective staffing for rural development until they are substantially modified.

The Creation of a New Breed of Planners

67. Earlier we stressed the need for individual countries and external agencies alike to develop a new breed of broad-gauged planners who are capable of handling both formal and nonformal educational elements and who are at home in the context of an integrated rural development context where education must be related to many other development factors. As we visualize their functions and mode of operation, they would not be set apart in separate educational planning units or isolated from operations; they would be members of intersectoral teams, mainly at sub-national levels, concerned not only with planning but with implementation.

68. We know of no existing training programmes that are presently equipped with the necessary knowledge and staff experience to develop such planners. Such knowledge and experience can best be developed, indeed can only be developed, by actually going through some practical field exercises in selected countries and areas. Once an initial cadre has gained experience and sorted out the lessons of that experience, they can become the purveyors of such knowledge to others, both through special training programmes and through a practical apprenticeship system in the field.

69. Existing national, regional, and international training and research institutions with experience in educational and economic planning (though not of the variety we are discussing here) could be very helpful in organizing and participating in such field exercises and in systematically extracting and disseminating the

pertinent lessons from them. The best candidates to undergo training in the initial exercises would be experienced people from operating agencies involved in one or another important facet of rural development. They should also be people who, though trained originally in a specialized subject, have a strong bent for viewing and analyzing any situation systematically through a wide-angle lens.

70. We doubt the wisdom of creating any new training institutions to specialize in planning nonformal education. This would simply drive a further wedge between formal and nonformal education, and between education and other factors of development, at a time when they all need to be more effectively synthesized. It would be highly desirable, on the other hand, for existing training and research institutions (at every level) concerned with planning and development to broaden their horizons, curriculum, and research agenda to include serious attention to nonformal education, viewed in a larger educational and development context.

Fresh Organizational Approaches

71. To evolve a coherent rural education strategy on the basis of the directions envisaged above will clearly require major organizational innovations. Not surprisingly, in most countries the inherited governmental structures -- coming out of a past when government functions were largely confined to keeping order, collecting taxes, and regulating trade -- have proved quite inadequate to the enormous new development tasks of government.

72. As a result, almost everywhere governments have added new ministries (of social welfare, community development, labor and manpower, youth and sports, small industry and cooperatives, etc.) whenever there was an unattended new goal or newly recognized problem. They have also added new planning bodies and all manner of devices aimed at getting headstrong ministries to pull in the same direction. Some of these innovations have made a significant improvement; some have failed dismally and even worsened the situation; most, perhaps it can be said, have fallen in between.

73. But juggling organization charts does not solve development problems, though it can sometimes remove bureaucratic obstacles to solving them, and can sometimes marshal fresh blood, ideas, and enthusiasm for solving them. Simply to add new organizations that bypass and threaten existing ones can further compound the fragmentation and confusion and burn up yet more energies in unconstructive bureaucratic rivalry. If innovations are to improve the situation, they must provide constructive and satisfying roles for existing organizations and win their strong support. Here again, of course, there are no tidy solutions to fit all countries; each must deal pragmatically with its own situation.

74. In the end, regardless of how organizational responsibilities and power are distributed, there are three basic requirements for achieving a more unified and effective effort: (1) developing a broad intellectual consensus that will enable people in different

organizations to perceive the same basic needs, problems, goals, and potentialities in a similar perspective; (2) on the basis of such a unifying concept, getting people from different organizations to work together as a team of equals on specific operations that cut across their respective fields of interest and competence; and (3) extending this habit and spirit of teamwork from the highest echelons of government down to every local scene of action.

75. The broad sizing up exercise and the individual programme review exercises (suggested at the end of Chapter 5), could constitute important steps in this direction. They could do much to bring about some unifying concepts and to develop the habit of collaboration among able and broad-gauged people from different organizations. The fresh facts and insights on action proposals they would bring forth could also provide a basis for public discussion and debate, leading to heightened interest in, and public support for, a greater rural education effort.

A Recommended Top-Down Bottom-Up Strategy

76. Perhaps the most important idea to emerge from the study regarding the organization of rural education systems came from ICED's study of the Comilla Project in Bangladesh, though we found traces of the same idea in projects in other countries. The Comilla approach, related to the multipurpose training and development discussed earlier, combines the strengths of both the "extension approach" and the "community-based approach" while avoiding their serious limitations.

77. Comilla is a densely populated rice-growing district, divided into several thanas (sub-districts), each embracing about 150 to 300 villages with populations of 100,000 to 200,000. Under the Comilla Project, which has been in operation for more than a decade, farmers are encouraged to form local cooperative credit societies, affiliated with a Cooperative Federation at the Thana Centre. Each cooperative elects its own manager and "model farmer," who serve as extension agents for their group. They travel regularly each week to one of the number of Thana Training and Development Centres. At the Centre, a large campus-type facility, they can have direct contact with experts from different ministries, receive special training on new technologies and other timely topics, get answers to questions of concern to their neighbors, deposit the savings of cooperative members and arrange for credit, and make provision for fertilizer and other inputs to be delivered to their villages. The Thana Training and Development Centres are backstopped with knowledge, expertise, and needed services not only by central ministries and the cooperative structure but especially by the nearby Comilla Academy.

78. The Comilla Academy is like a mini-rural university. Its highly competent staff is solely devoted to developing staff for the Thana Centres and other organizations, carrying out pertinent agricultural and social science research and experiments, preparing teaching materials, giving advice and in general helping to solve rural development problems of the area. The Academy (which is a national facility for serving other areas as well, though less intensively than Comilla District) has good access to outside

research, professional publications, and other sources of ideas and knowledge. It is a beehive of practical intellectual activity and a primary source of leadership and inspiration for the whole Comilla system.

79. The Thana Centres thus serve as a halfway house where useful knowledge, expertise, and support services flowing downward from the Academy and national level agencies make fruitful contact with local emissaries (upward extension agents) from the villages. This "top-down bottom-up" system, by concentrating a critical mass of expertise and backstopping services at the thana level within easy reach of numerous villages, is far more helpful to local people than it would have been had it tried to send comparable expertise and services downward into each village separately. At the same time, this arrangement leaves the prime initiative and responsibility for local development squarely with each community (in this case, with the members of each local cooperative society), thus helping to break the "dependency syndrome."

80. The underlying principles and philosophy of the Comilla Project -- even if not its precise institutional model -- seems to us to have wide and important applicability for many different clienteles and for many developing countries. Though the project has so far benefitted mainly the larger farmers who have been more willing to join the local cooperatives, there is no reason why the same basic principles, organizational structure, and logistical arrangements could not equally be applied to helping other sub-groups, in particular out-of-school children and youths, women, and

small farmers and landless laborers. This would mean organizing each of these local sub-groups around a set of common interests and sending their elected representatives to a centre each week as extension agents of their neighbors. It would require, of course, broadening the expert staffs and service capabilities of centres to serve these additional clienteles well. This broadening of the "Comilla approach" is currently under discussion in Bangladesh.

The Mobilization of Additional Resources

81. A truly massive enlargement of rural learning systems will be required in poorer countries over the next two decades to shrink the enormous gap between the minimum essential learning needs of rural children and youth and the present meagre provisions for meeting them. But this raises hard questions of feasibility. Where will the resources come from? Given the present severe financial straits of formal education, can poor countries afford to embark on a massive expansion of nonformal education? What latent resources might be tapped and how?

82. It would be misleading to imply that there are any easy answers to these questions. But perhaps we can at least suggest some useful ways to think about them and a few general guidelines for tackling the problem, based on lessons drawn from the experiences of sample countries.

Real Versus Financial Resources

83. First, all who are involved with rural educational programmes and strategies will need to pay much closer attention to costs and

resources than has been customary in the past. If not, they are likely to find themselves with ambitious plans that cannot be implemented, with pilot projects that cannot be enlarged or even kept going, and with unmet targets and broken promises which will produce adverse repercussions.

84. They must also think much more in terms of real resources -- not simply money -- because many of the resources that must be mobilized for expanding nonformal education will not be readily measurable in monetary terms and will not appear in regular programme budgets and financial accounts. We have reference, for example, to the extensive use of unpaid volunteers, borrowed physical structures and equipment, radio and newspaper facilities, and various other contributed services and materials. These are all real costs to someone, even if not to the particular programme budgets. So also are the opportunity costs experienced by the learners whenever their participation in a programme requires the sacrifice of valuable alternative uses of their time and energy.

85. These considerations sound a warning against attacking too much importance to the kinds of financial ratios and targets commonly used to measure and compare the educational efforts and progress of nations -- especially the percentage of the national budget and the GNP used by education. These figures, though useful for some purposes, can be extremely misleading because they are generally confined to public funds spent on formal education. Frequently they ignore local government contributions, costs paid

by parents, and contributions flowing to private schools. More seriously, they disregard virtually all financial expenditures and unbudgeted real resources used in nonformal education, both public and private.

86. In short, these educational expenditure ratios invariably understate a nation's total educational effort (as education is defined in this report) by a wide margin -- but just how wide a margin is anybody's guess because it has been nobody's business even to make rough estimates. It is clear, however, that the more successful a country is in mobilizing unbudgeted real resources for education, the larger the error in such conventional financial ratios and targets becomes, and the more inadequate and misleading they become for educational planning and international comparisons. It is to be hoped that some ingenious researchers will devise better tools for assessing the magnitude and trends in national educational efforts.

87. Meantime, a great many of the programmes examined in this study demonstrate beyond a doubt the ability of nonformal education to mobilize and effectively use a great variety and substantial amounts of real resources that would otherwise stand idle or be used in less important ways. Managers of nonformal education programmes need a practiced eye for spotting such opportunities.

Competition Between Nonformal and Formal Education

88. There is growing anxiety in some quarters over the adverse impact that an increase in the popularity of nonformal education

might have on the already strained financial position of formal education. This raises some complex issues that need to be viewed in balanced perspective and dealt with dispassionately.

89. To start with, it is well to remember that formal education systems in the poorer countries are gripped by an already grave and worsening financial crisis -- having little or nothing to do with nonformal education. This fact alone makes mandatory some radical changes in formal education.

90. Secondly, in terms of their normal clienteles and learning objectives, the area of overlap between formal and nonformal education, is limited. Although in countries with fractionally developed formal systems, nonformal education is expected to cope with the enormous backlog of the schools' unfinished business, this is only one of its functions. Nonformal education is responsible for serving a much larger potential clientele and a much wider variety of learning needs that lie outside the conventional scope and mandate of the formal system. The bulk of nonformal education's resources comes therefore, not from education ministries, but from a great variety of sources not generally accessible to formal education -- various specialized ministries, voluntary organizations, communities and individuals, both in financial and nonfinancial form. A theoretical economist would point out, of course, that every activity using scarce resources is by definition in competition with every other activity, but in this sense nonformal education is as much in competition with roadbuilding and dressmaking as with formal education.

91. The impression should not be left, however, that formal and nonformal education can both go plunging ahead with no danger of colliding. The strategy of linear expansion has already put formal education on a collision course not only with nonformal education but with everything else in the national budget. No poor country that persists in this strategy can hope to build a strong rural learning system that will meet the minimum essential learning needs of the bulk of its rural children.

92. There can be no solution to the problem so long as formal and nonformal education are seen as rival tongs struggling for bigger shares of a limited national supply of educational resources. The only hope lies in abandoning this parochial institutional view and shifting the focus of attention to where it properly belongs -- to the rural youngsters and adults whose vital learning needs are being grossly neglected. Seen in this perspective, the real issue is not formal versus nonformal education, but how to adapt and combine them in a coherent rural learning system that can most efficiently, effectively, and democratically serve these needs. In financial terms, the basic issue is not that of diverting funds from formal to nonformal programmes but rather how best to deploy the totality of present and prospective educational resources to fit the new priorities and the new perspective view of education. A further basic issue is how to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of resources being used by both formal and nonformal programmes.

93. Even with this broader and less institution-bound approach, difficult allocation questions will have to be worked out, but at

least they can be resolved on their merits, with the interests of the potential learners and not some particular educational institution as the dominant criterion. Meanwhile, insofar as nonformal education can mobilize extra resources not accessible to formal education, the sum total of resources for education will be that much greater.

How Large An Effort is Possible?

94. Given the conducive circumstances described earlier -- a compelling vision and the determination to realize it, a favorable political climate and bureaucratic attitudes, a widespread spirit of cooperation -- how large an increase in its total rural education effort might a poor country reasonably hope to achieve over the next 10 years or so? For reasons given earlier, we must deal in rough orders of magnitude. On this basis, we would hazard the judgment that -- combining formal and nonformal education and including both budgeted items and additional unbudgeted real resources that could be mobilized -- it would be feasible for poorer countries to at least triple or quadruple their overall rural education efforts within a decade.

95. This rough estimate does not imply that the budget for formal education would have to increase by this proportion, which would be well nigh impossible for most countries. It does imply, however, a very sizable increase for nonformal educational activities in the budgets of numerous other ministries and agencies involved in rural development. But since these expenditures have been so relatively meagre in the past, it should be quite feasible

to compound them fairly rapidly if it were considered important to do so. We have also assumed in our estimate, of course, a very large expansion of contributed resources.

96. This magnitude of increase in resources devoted to rural education could, of course, produce a more than proportionate increase in the total quantum of useful learning (admittedly not a very measurable item) if the kinds of measures suggested elsewhere in this report for improving educational efficiency were also vigorously pursued.

Encouragement of Voluntary Organizations

97. A special comment is in order here regarding the special contribution voluntary organizations can make to strengthen nonformal education wherever they are seen as compatible with the ideology, goals, and specific policies of a country. Voluntary organizations -- and they exist in numerous forms -- often have a unique capacity not only to mobilize extra educational resources to serve certain learning needs and clienteles beyond the easy reach of official programmes. Moreover, they can experiment more freely and sometimes evolve new approaches and models that governments may find useful to replicate on a larger scale.

98. But there is something more subtle and even more important that assorted voluntary organizations functioning throughout a country can contribute. They can help preserve and nurture one of the most vital assets any nation can possess -- a widespread, deep-rooted spirit of cooperation, voluntarism, and compassion for one's less

fortunate neighbors. All of the great cultures, religions, and tribal societies, each in its own way, have sought to foster such ethical values and human behavior. But these tend to be brushed aside and allowed to erode in an era of large organizations and technocratic specialization, when solutions to human problems are formulated in mechanistic terms of projects, work plans, time schedules, manning tables, bills of equipment, and budgetary line items.

99. There can be no question, however, that these values and modes of behavior -- which are cultivated far more by example than by preachment -- are absolutely essential catalysts in the process of spreading nonformal education. For only with a strong and widespread spirit of cooperation, voluntarism, and compassion can the necessary human talents and energies for a massive rural education movement be brought forth. We are persuaded by the examples we have observed in a diversity of countries that governments can do much to nurture -- or to destroy -- these vital assets.

More Attention to the Neediest

100. In Chapter 1 we noted that the strategies of economic development and education in most developing countries have had the effect of discriminating seriously against their rural populations (as evidence, for example, by the growing gap between urban and rural family incomes and school completion rates). They have also discriminated between high- and low-potential rural areas and, within the same area, between families high and low on the socio-

economic scale. Educational inequities have been especially serious for two large and overlapping sub-groups: out-of-school children and youth, and girls and women.

101. Any nation that is determined to reduce these large-scale inequities and disadvantages will have to make strong and specific provisions for the purpose in its rural education strategy. Experience has demonstrated that it is not sufficient merely to have a policy that guarantees the right of equal access to education regardless of parentage, sex, religion, or social status. Most educational systems and programmes that have honored this principle have nevertheless ended up benefitting the "haves" much more than the "have-nots." Having a right and being able to exercise it are two different matters. A local school may honestly insist that the share-cropper's son has the same right to enter and remain in school as the big landlord's son. But if his parents cannot afford the clothes and fees, or if they require his help at home, or if because of their own hopelessness they have not inspired in their children a strong motivation for schooling, his right is a hollow one.

102. Similarly, girls may in principle have the same educational rights as boys, but not the same actual opportunity. Their parents may consider it less important for girls to get an education; or the older daughter may be needed at home to tend younger children while the mother works; or the parents may distrust having their daughter taught by a male teacher and there are no female teachers around; or because of local mores, the whole community may frown on parents who send their daughters to school.

103. The educational rights of boys and girls who do not complete primary education, as we saw earlier, are sharply narrowed at an early age. Those who survive primary school have access to important educational opportunities that have been arbitrarily foreclosed to the majority -- even if they are equally bright and motivated -- who do not. Not only do primary school completers have at least a small chance of getting into secondary school, but they can join a youth club or enter a nonformal skill training programme or school equivalency programme that admits only primary finishers. Drop-outs, on the other hand, have none of these options.

104. In short, educational spokesmen can readily be misled by their own rhetoric into believing that their programmes are genuinely democratic when in fact they are highly discriminatory. And any educational programme that is part of a society filled with serious social and economic inequities can unwittingly exacerbate these inequities.

105. To counter these powerful built-in tendencies a rural education strategy must include some strong measures. For example, exceptionally disadvantaged rural areas are not likely to get an even educational break unless they are specifically so designated and given special treatment -- not <u>better</u> treatment than more advantaged areas but at least <u>equal</u> treatment, carefully tailored to their circumstances. Similarly, if the education of girls and women is discouraged in part because the establishment is largely

all male, the strategy must include strenuous efforts to convert it into a male-female establishment. If primary school drop-outs are barred from out-of-school occupational training programmes because they cannot read, then they should be given a chance to become literate, preferably as part of such training programmes.

106. Future rural educational strategies that seriously tackle these problems will not have easy going. It will be tempting to settle for tokenism and a few showcases to demonstrate good intentions and then get on with business-as-usual. But those who persist until they achieve a genuine breakthrough will finally get the greatest satisfaction and reward an educator can receive.

Conclusions and Recommendations

107. This final chapter has examined eight basic requirements applicable to all developing countries anxious to formulate and carry out stronger and more coherent rural education strategies, aimed especially -- but not exclusively -- at meeting the minimum essential learning needs and improving the welfare and life prospects of many millions of disadvantaged infants, children and youths. It has included wherever possible illustrations and suggested ways to meet these requirements, although it is clear that the wide differences among countries preclude any standard universal solutions. The broad scope and perspective of this chapter have also made it an appropriate place to weave together some basic themes developed in earlier chapters.

108. In these closing pages we will recapitulate and synthesize a variety of suggestions for action, viewing them in a time frame ranging from one to ten years and recognizing the realistic constraints that circumscribe the practical area of maneuver available to planners and decision-makers in developing countries.

Getting a New Movement Started

109. A number of countries are anxious to start a fresh push in the direction of nonformal education and are already looking for ways to get started. Indonesia and Bangladesh, for example, have both for the first time earmarked substantial sums specifically for nonformal education in their new five-year plans. The question facing them now is just what to do with these funds, but the very act of earmarking them has focussed new attention on nonformal education and precipitated a broad process of discussion and search for fresh ideas.

110. It is very important at this initial phase, we suggest, not to dissipate available resources and energies on a limited number of specific programme actions that seem attractive at the moment. This is the crucial time to take a broader look at what needs to be done and can be done in coming years and to set the stage for a broad and vigorous movement that can have profound longer-term implications. A number of the suggestions made in earlier chapters may be relevant to this undertaking, including the following:

. Setting up informal interagency and interdisciplinary discussion groups to promote a dialogue on common interests

and problems, to evolve broader unifying concepts, to explore the need and possibilities for a more integrated and decentralized approach to rural education and rural development generally. (See Chapter 4.)

. Mounting a "sizing up exercise" to get a clearer picture of the essential educational needs of rural clienteles, how these are likely to evolve in the future, what provisions already exist for meeting these needs, what early steps might be taken to improve them, what further resources might be tapped for a more massive and longer-term attack on rural learning needs. (See Chapter 2.)

. Undertaking a systematic and critical review of selected nonformal education programmes with a view to developing better criteria and techniques for planning, operating, and evaluating such programmes in the future, and to encouraging better built-in self-evaluation processes in all nonformal education programmes. (See Chapter 5.)

. Mounting operationally oriented field research and analytical studies, with the help of college and university students and faculty members, to get a more realistic picture of, for example: (1) how many rural boys and girls by the age of 16 to 18 have actually learned to read and write at a functional level, and how they learned; (2) what are the most urgent needs of infants and pre-school-age children in particular rural areas; (3) how various indigenous learning systems

actually work and how they might be strengthened; (4) what is the family background of rural boys and girls who finish primary school and what happens to them later and, conversely, who are the non-school-goers and drop-outs, and what happens to them; (5) how former participants in literacy programmes, skill training and other kinds of programmes, etc. have actually used what they learned. (See Chapter 4.)

111. One to two years of intensive activity along the above lines, involving a wide range of agencies, institutions, programmes, and individuals, could generate important new facts, insights, and perspectives and foster new coalitions. It could also provoke new ideas for action and shake up many old and possibly obsolete assumptions, doctrines, and behavior patterns. Finally, these fresh facts and insights, made the subject of wide public discussion and debate, could stimulate broad interest and support for moving in new educational directions.

112. One possible way to bring the new facts and ideas together would be to convene a National Conference on Education for Integrated Rural Development (or some such title), sponsored by the highest political leadership and involving the participation of all interested public and private organizations. If this were to be done, careful preparations should be made by an interagency task force under vigorous and imaginative leadership, for the process of preparing such a conference could be more important than the conference itself, especially if it were to be used as a launching pad for some

important second-phase actions.

113. Some possible activities for such launching might be, for instance: (1) setting up permanent mechanisms at the national level and below for monitoring and promoting new developments in nonformal education and achieving new linkages between formal and nonformal education; (2) mounting a nationwide drive to encourage innovative locally initiated educational programmes (see below); (3) embarking on some new pilot efforts -- including many educational components -- aimed at comprehensive, integrated rural development in one or a few selected areas (see below).

114. Other actions need not come to a halt or necessarily be postponed during the first phase. But rushing into action indiscriminately just for the sake of action, without first sizing up the general situation and laying out tentative guidelines for strategy, could lose time, waste resources, and create momentum in wrong directions. This is why the initial sizing up and exploratory phase seems to us so crucial and deserving of a large investment of time, energy, and talent.

115. Listed below under various categories (roughly corresponding to the basic requirements of strategy discussed earlier) are further suggestions for action that countries might wish to consider taking. Some of these might well be initiated during the first phase, but for most, the main effort would probably grow out of the first phase and build up in the years thereafter.

Devising Mechanisms for Integrating Educational Efforts

116. There are several possible mechanisms for integration. The simplest perhaps would be to create a national board broadly concerned with nonformal education, with how to strengthen it, how to integrate it more effectively, and how to link it more effectively to formal education and complementary local development plans and activities. Such a board would include spokesmen from the principal ministries, agencies, and voluntary organizations involved in nonformal education, including -- but not dominated by -- spokesmen for formal education. In due course corresponding affiliated groups could be set up at the provincial and district levels. For such a board to have real influence and staying power, it would need to have statutory authority, strong high-level political support and leadership, a small but able secretariat, funds and authority to collect and analyze data, to subcontract special studies, and to take initiatives in starting and monitoring experimental programmes which, if successful, would be taken over by an appropriate operating agency.

117. A more ambitious possibility (which might grow out of the board described above) would be the creation of a National Centre for Educational Integration. This institute would combine research, training, and technical assistance and would have the responsibility for helping all types of educational programmes (including formal ones) to innovate and to integrate in useful ways with other programmes. It could also assist planners and managers of noneducational

projects in devising appropriate educational components for inclusion in such projects.

118. A third possibility -- supplementary to the first two -- would be to set up one or more continuing interagency task forces specifically charged with monitoring, evaluating, and helping to plan the improvement of particular national "knowledge delivery systems" (e.g., for agricultural, health, and occupational training) involving interdependent components under different organizational jurisdictions. (See Chapter 5.)

Starting the Process of Decentralization

119. Different countries are currently at different stages of readiness for progress toward decentralization. Those with federal structures and those with more fully developed administrative services, for example, are more likely to be ready than unitary systems with centrally controlled structures and newer and less developed countries with weak administrative services. But sooner or later all countries must move toward greater decentralization of those particular planning, decision making, and management functions that can be done well only when undertaken close to the scene of action. The longer decentralization is postponed, the longer their overall development progress will suffer. Thus, even less ready countries may be well advised to initiate some modest experimental steps in this direction in preparation for further steps later.

120. It is usually politically hazardous for central governments to select particular areas for special treatment. But when it comes to learning how to decentralize — to discovering the most workable techniques and developing an initial cadre capable of applying these techniques and teaching them to others — it is virtually mandatory to start in limited areas, not with a view to giving them special favors but to using them as research and development laboratories that can benefit the entire nation.

121. Since little practical experience has been accumulated anywhere in the world on these matters, those countries that make a serious beginning now will be the pioneers. It is vitally important that their experience be carefully monitored and assessed in order to garner useful lessons both for them and for other countries. External agencies could be helpful in this connection.

122. Based on the few samples we have seen, it is noteworthy that ministries of education tend to be left out of ventures in decentralized, integrated planning for rural development. Education thus remains isolated from all else or gets tacked on later as an afterthought. We would especially urge, therefore, that versatile educational analysts and planners get in at the beginning of such joint undertakings and remain in the vanguard.

Stimulating Local Initiatives and Innovations

123. Simultaneous with the above research and development projects in a few selected areas, a nationwide effort might be launched in all other areas to encourage new initiatives and more limited

innovations. A simple guidebook could be prepared illustrating a range of different types of projects that might be undertaken locally, with suggestions on how to size up local needs and opportunities, how to go about planning and organizing such a home-grown project, and indicating what sources of technical advice and practical help might be drawn upon in the national government or elsewhere.

124. Where circumstances are favorable, it might be desirable to set up a small and versatile quasi-independent technical assistance and special funding "foundation" to encourage and assist these local educational innovations — as Indonesia is in process of doing. To give it ample freedom of action this foundation could have its own mixed governing board and draw its funds from a combination of government, private, and external sources.

125. In all likelihood the initial response to such a nationwide campaign would be sporadic, and many of the local proposals might at first be wide of the mark. Nevertheless, a well-publicized national effort to encourage local educational initiative and innovations could help change the mood and attitudes of civil servants up and down the line (encouraging those in the field with a gift for initiative to use it); it could reduce the sense of dependency and subservience of local people and officials; and it could identify a number of promising areas with dynamic and imaginative leadership that could become growth points and examples for other areas (in the manner of Jombang). These bellwether areas would thrust up a variety

of good ideas that might have wider applicability. Perhaps most important, such an effort would test in practical terms just how ready local communities and the lower echelons of government really are for a larger measure of independent responsibility.

Improving the Supply of Educational Software

126. Part of the sizing up exercise mentioned earlier should be an inventory of the nation's knowledge generating (research) strengths in different fields and of its informational and communications talents and facilities that could be mobilized to produce and disseminate better educational "software," not only for nonformal and formal education but also to enrich the informal learning environments of rural areas. (See Chapter 5.) With such an inventory in hand, a special task force, representing both "producer" and "consumer" interests in the software field, could be set to work identifying specific opportunities for action and facilitating them.

127. The task force might explore possibilities for certain educational programmes to share common backstopping services. It would examine existing governmental information services, university capacities, and private mass media facilities (particularly radio and newspapers) to find ways of matching these with various rural educational services needing better software. As a supplement to -- not a substitute for -- these other arrangements, consideration could be given to setting up one or more independent quasi-independent "software centres" that would specialize in preparing software "packages" to meet the needs of a variety of organizations involved

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in nonformal education. Eventually such centres might also serve formal education, but it might be easier to begin with nonformal and informal education. To be effective and to produce relevant software, such a centre would need to have close and continuing liaison with the operational agencies it served and it would have to get to know their clients at first hand.

Multipurpose Backstopping Centres

128. The most crucial place to build new strengths for backstopping local education programmes and related development activities is at the district and sub-district level, within easy reach of such local programmes and close enough to know their special needs.

129. One useful step in this direction could be the transformation of existing single-purpose training centres, run by individual ministries, into stronger multipurpose centres, sponsored by a combination of ministries and serving a variety of objectives and clienteles in the same area. Such multipurpose centres could do much to enliven and enrich all types of local efforts and could also result in important economies of scale by pooling the talents and other resources of several sponsoring organizations. They could fill the inservice training gap that hobbles most rural programmes by providing frequent short-term training for the field staff of different rural services and for local leaders. They could also help in the preparation of locally based software, give help and encouragement to a network of nonresidential local "learning centres,"

and provide other technical services. Eventually they could also become the operating bases for various government rural services in the area and the locus of integrated development planning for the area.

130. Viewed in a still larger frame, such multipurpose training and development centres, following the Comilla principles, could become the linchpins of a strong vertically integrated knowledge delivery system combining the best elements of the extension approach and the community-based approach. Under such an arrangement, locally based organizations of farmers, youth, women, and other sub-groups with mutual needs and interests, would each select their own extension agents to bring home useful knowledge and services from a nearby multipurpose centre.

Developing a New Breed of Broad-gauged Planners

131. The new types of economic and educational planners produced in the 1960s at international, regional, and (increasingly) at national training centres represented a large step forward at the time, but their training has already become obsolete in terms of the changing needs of the 1970s and 1980s. The kinds of educational planners now needed are those who can look at formal and nonformal education in a unified way, who are sufficiently familiar with other fields of development to be able to tailor educational activities to fit related development activities. In addition to being able to deal at the national level with broad statistical aggregates they must be able to function as members of sub-

national area development teams where the need is to combine a variety of formal, nonformal, and informal educational measures with complementary development factors in a more integrated and dynamic approach to rural transformation.

132. Individual countries and external agencies have a common need to develop new cadres of such broad-visioned interdisciplinary planner-analysts and to develop a new body of "know-how" as a basis for training larger numbers in the future. This common need, we suggest, can best be met by collective action, involving a few countries to begin with and a few external agencies. Specifically, a few sub-national exercises in integrated rural development planning might be undertaken in several interested and willing countries by mixed teams of experienced, analytically minded experts drawn from several concerned national and international agencies. The first task of each team would be to carry out, in close liaison with appropriate national agencies and local leaders and officials, a quick and rough initial benchmark survey of a particular area's needs, potentialities, and on-going educational and development activities. On this basis, and still in league with local leaders, the team would outline a strategy and integrated plan for the area's development over the next 10 years or so, covering the gamut of major rural development goals. This draft strategy and plan would then be carefully tested for feasibility in consultation with national operating ministries and planning authorities. It could serve also as a basis for country requests to various external assistance

agencies for such outside help as might be required to implement different important components of the plan.

133. Such integrated planning exercises might be organized by a bureaucratically neutral party, such as a national, regional, or international development centre or planning institute interested especially in the training and research aspects of the exercise and well positioned to accumulate and pass on to others the useful lessons learned.

Creating New Perspectives in National Planning

134. National planning agencies are in the best position to take a broad and systematic view of the overall development process and to encourage a more integrated approach by specialized agencies of government. But the categorical "sector" approach used in most national planning militates strongly against a more integrated (and more decentralized) approach. The typical five-year plan document opens with an introductory chapter portraying the "big picture" and setting out major priorities. From there it proceeds to a series of "sector" chapters that often have little to do with each other because they are mainly tailored to fit the various operating ministries and their budgets. Thus, for example, the "Education Chapter" is tailored to fit the Ministry of Education, the "Agriculture Chapter" to fit the Ministry of Agriculture, and so on. But since the organizational structure of the government does not fit the problems of development as they realistically present themselves, the national plan does not come directly to grips with

these fundamental problems in an integrated fashion. Nowhere in the typical plan, for example, is a coherent picture given of the various learning needs of the population and the various provisions for meeting them. Instead, the chapter on education looks at only one piece of the picture -- the formal education piece — while the nonformal education pieces are likely to be scattered like footnotes through a number of "sector" chapters. Informal education often is totally ignored, or disposed of lightly in the "Information Chapter."

135. By the same token, national plan documents rarely if ever provide a coherent picture of what are conceded to be some of the central problems of social and economic development and what the plan proposes to do about them. These would include, for example, the problems of integrated and accelerated rural development, viewed in the large; the problem of low hope rural areas; the problem of particularly disadvantaged groups such as out-of-school children and youth, girls and women, and subsistence farm families living in absolute poverty.

136. To remedy these serious omissions, we suggest that national planning agencies, in addition to the usual "sector" chapters (and perhaps ultimately in lieu of them), attempt to include some cross-cutting chapters that would provide a more coherent picture of how the plan proposes to attack these major problems that transcend individual sectors and the jurisdictions of individual ministries. The very process of preparing these cross-cutting problem-oriented chapters would undoubtedly have the useful

effect of broadening the perceptions of the various operating agencies concerned and in demonstrating the necessity of closer collaboration among them. It would also demonstrate the need for more "bottom-up" planning, starting with central problems as they actually manifest themselves in various localities.

Promoting Intercountry Cooperation

137. Every year there are a great many international and regional conferences and technical meetings addressed to one or another of the many aspects of education and rural development touched on in this report. Typically they are sponsored and arranged by some international or regional organization which sets the agenda, provides expert papers and speakers, and assists the participants to arrive at some conclusions and resolutions that are seen as the main purpose and product of the meeting.

138. Undoubtedly such conferences and meetings serve a useful purpose, especially when they are well prepared and followed up (unfortunately not always the case). But there is another kind of intercountry meeting that has been seldom tried and that at this stage might yield even greater benefits for the participating countries. We have reference to informal workshop meetings of experienced experts and officials engaged in similar work and struggling with similar problems in neighboring countries. By getting together and trading ideas and experiences on well-defined problems of common concern, they could learn a great deal from one another and perhaps give birth to some new ideas and untried approaches.

139. The whole field of nonformal education, of rural education generally, and of education seen in the context of integrated rural development, would afford a rich agenda for a whole series of such meetings. If, for example, three out of six countries in a natural grouping embarked on the kind of sizing up exercise or the sort of critical programme review exercise suggested earlier in this report, they would undoubtedly benefit by coming together to compare notes on these exercises, perhaps first when they were planning them, then later when they had some results. The initiative for such meetings could best come from the countries themselves, but one or another external agency might well assist them in the substantive preparations and logistical arrangements. Again, we would stress the great importance of careful preparation within the participating countries to get the most out of such meetings.

140. To our knowledge there have been few such down-to-earth operationally oriented discussions among neighbors. One outstanding example, however, is the Lomé meeting of Francophone West African countries in 1972, which UNICEF helped several countries to prepare for and carry out. At Lomé the ministers of the participating nations joined the conference only after their senior technical officials had first had a chance to work together for several days, reaching some rather radical conclusions and recommendations in the process.

141. Another useful form of mutually beneficial intercountry cooperation would be the exchange of objective written reports describing (and where possible evaluating) specific innovative

programmes or steps taken by individual countries that might contain stimulating ideas and useful lessons for others. We are pleased to note that a recommendation made in our previous report bearing on this idea of circulating reports of interesting specific innovations is currently finding expression at the international level.[1] UNESCO's International Bureau of Education in Geneva, with financial support from a combination of international and bilateral agencies and foundations, is taking steps to develop an international reporting service to give visibility to a wide range of individual country innovations in both formal and non-formal education.

How External Agencies Can Help

142. It would be futile to attempt here to itemize the many ways in which external agencies could assist individual countries to carry out various suggestions made in this and our previous report. The countries and the agencies themselves are in the best position to determine this. A few general observations, however, may be in order.

143. First, for multilateral and bilateral technical assistance and funding agencies to be of substantial help to countries in

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[1] See New Paths to Learning, pp. 99-100.

these matters, they will have to do some considerable innovating themselves. They too must wean themselves from their traditional piecemeal approach and adapt themselves -- separately and collectively -- to a broader-visioned and more cooperative integrated approach. They will have to pursue vigorously the process they have already begun of reexamining their past assumptions, doctrines, and limited perceptions. If they are to help developing countries develop and utilize broad-gauged educational and rural development planners they must first -- or at the same time -- develop such personnel within their own ranks and then give them lead positions in their own programmes. As a group, the external agencies -- particularly those within the United Nations system — must make it a habit not merely to "coordinate" at the administrative level but to join hands substantively at the operating level.

144. Second, we suggest that fundamental changes are overdue in the basic forms and modes of international assistance. Specifically, there is need to move away from the conventional type of specific, limited-life "project" -- particularly the dubious "pilot" project, heavily staffed with expatriate specialists and flying the flag of a particular external agency -- and toward a more flexible and continuous kind of assistance aimed at helping developing countries not simply to tack on a new institution or programme but to transform and make more effective use of those they already have, and to evolve over time a more coherent multipurpose learning system geared to supporting their critical development needs. Such a shift would

sharply reduce the demand for long-term resident technical specialists, and would increase the demand for a considerably smaller number of well-seasoned, broad-gauged advisers who would visit countries for rleatively short periods to address particular problems on which special help was felt to be needed, and would be available to return with regularity in order to maintain continuity. This would call, of course, for extensive changes in existing "project proposal" procedures.

145. Third, we believe that external agencies would be particularly helpful by assisting developing countries: (1) to assess and strengthen the efficacy of their vertical "knowledge delivery systems" in fields such as health, agriculture, and occupational training; (2) to strengthen and improve the efficiency of their back-stopping provisions for local-level programmes -- particularly with respect to research, staff development, and software generation; (3) to develop new techniques and qualified personnel for decentralized, integrated area development; and (4) to exchange valuable experiences and lessons with other developing countries, through workshops, circulation of revealing reports, intercountry visits and so forth.

146. Finally, we call attention especially to the opportunity external agencies have to strengthen the hand of those developing country leaders who are prepared to take on the formidable and

politically risky task of making a frontal attack on the root sources of rural poverty and injustice. Education, taking many forms, is one of the important weapons in this attack. Until now it has all too often served unwittingly to exacerbate divisions and discrimination between urban and rural populations and within rural populations. Properly reconstructed and reoriented, however, and properly teamed up with other complementary measures, formal and nonformal education together can brighten the lives and the life chances of many millions of infants, children and youths.

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